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ON
THE ORIGIN AND AUTHENTICITY
OF THE
ARIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

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ON
THE ORIGIN AND AUTHENTICITY
OF THE
ARIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.
THE ZAND AVESTA AND THE HUZVARASH.

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BOMBAY
In the Year of Zoroaster, 2251.
Yazdêjard, 1231.
Christ, 1861.

The Author reserves the Right of Translation.

PREFACE.

THE following paper is the writer's contribution to the knowledge of an ancient and dead language—the parent of rich and widely-spoken living languages; to the most recent of the metaphysical sciences, which in the hands of learned and laborious philologists is so rapidly rising into the highest importance; to the illustration of the intellectual history of an ancient people no longer numbered amongst the nations of the earth; and to the general record of human progress. It was read before the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1857, and not published in the Society's journal till 1860. The writer's sole object in publishing it in a separate form is that he may more extensively communicate the results of his researches to learned Societies and to friends interested in such investigations. This object he is enabled to accomplish through the generosity of a venerable and beloved father, who is ever devising liberal things for the promotion of Oriental lore.

The opinions of the most learned continental orientalists are decidedly in favor of the genuineness of the Zand Avesta and Huzvarash or Proper Pehlvi languages. There are writers however who entertain very different opinions; but for which opinions there seems

to be no substantial grounds. Some European scholars have decidedly expressed the opinion that the Sanskrit has supplied the frame work of the Zand language; but the writer on the contrary very confidently states that by the positive laws of comparative Philology it is demonstrable that the Zand Avesta is not only superior in this respect to the Slavonic, Teutonic, and Pelasgian languages, but that it is also more perfect in its structure than the Vedic Sanskrit; which fact strongly manifests the position the Zand Avesta holds as a primitive language.

In this paper the author has compared, by the rules of comparative Philology, the primitive language of the Zoroastrian, the Zand Avesta, and the Brahminical language of the Veda; and has proved beyond doubt the superiority of the former over the latter language. He has moreover instituted a comparison between the language of the Zand Avesta and the Cuneiform language of the Achaemenian Inscriptions; which comparison has afforded him satisfactory reasons to maintain that both of them are sister languages, and that the Cuneiform is more akin to the Zand Avesta than any other language of the Arian family. He, therefore, is decidedly of opinion that the Zand Avesta is the Hagiographical language and Cuneiform, the Demotic language of the Primal Arian Nation; for otherwise how could the ignorant foresters of Iran have preserved the essential root of the names of Kings, Persons, Provinces and things up to the present date? This natural evidence distinctly indicates the primal position of the language.

Zoroaster's religion and Divine law were first

promulgated in Bactria under the reign of his Royal follower the Bactrian Vistaspa or Hystaspa and enthusiastically adopted by the whole of the Arian nation. It can be proved from ancient and modern indisputable authorities, that the original home of the Zand Avesta was Bactria; and this opinion is acknowledged by many learned and eminent personages.

That the Zand Avesta was not only used as a sacred, but also as a popular language is undeniably proved by the following words of Mr. Chodzko.*

“First.—The Taulish dialect’s spoken from the desert of Moghan to the mouth of the river Dinachal, separating the Ghilan district of Resht from that of Gasker. The Zend elements occur in this patois most conspicuously.”

The writer has endeavoured to prove in the succeeding pages the existence both of the Huzvarash or Proper Pehlvi and that of the common or current Pehlvi language. The fact, that the former was used as a Hieratic language by the sacerdotal class, and the latter as a Demotic language by the people, is established by many corroborative testimonies; which inevitably leads to the belief that the language did formerly exist in Iran. In fact the Pehlvi language is still used in the Province of Gustasfy in the Village of Dezmar and also in the Towns of Rai, Hamadan, Isphān, Nehawend, and Tabriz the ancient Capital of Azarbijan.

It is necessary to mention that the monumental record of Haji-Abad and other Pehlvi Inscriptions prove

the above mentioned fact beyond the least shadow of doubt, and the writer thinks it unnecessary to discuss any more this subject in this brief preface.

The Pehlvi Inscription of Haji-Abad not being published in the Asiatic Society's Journal, and the difficulty experienced in procuring oriental types being great, the author was compelled to lithograph the Pehlvi Inscription with much care, and to transcribe the original characters in Italic and Roman letters.

The writer extremely regrets, that at the time of his writing this paper, several works, chiefly written and published in oriental languages, had not reached his hands, and that those works were not to be found in the Bombay Presidency or even in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Owing to the great deficiency in the typographical department, the author was obliged to give the equivalents of the original characters of several words of the Arian and Semitic families of languages in Roman and Italic characters; and in some cases without the Diacritical marks.

In conclusion, the writer has much pleasure in returning his best thanks to his learned friends the Rev. Dr. John Wilson and the Rev. Dr. A. G. Fraser, for their kind attention to some references made to them while this work was going through the press. He casts himself upon the indulgence of his intelligent readers and confidently trusts, that as this is his maiden attempt to write a literary and critical paper in a foreign language, they will kindly pardon any defects they may find in the style and arrangement of the matter. He must ask that neither of his learned friends should

in any way be blamed for any such defects, for which he himself is alone responsible. According to the well known Persian writer, Sadi's distich.

کهن خرقه خویش پیراستن
به از جامه عاریت خواستن

It is better to wear one's own old dress
Than to borrow a robe.

Bombay 21st }
December 1861. }

D. FRAMJÎ.

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ON THE ORIGIN AND AUTHENTICITY

OF THE

ARIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

THE ZAND AVESTA AND THE HUZVARASH.

THIS PAPER WAS READ BEFORE THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY ON THE 8TH OCTOBER,
AND ON THE 10TH DECEMBER 1857—BY DHUNJIBHÂI
FRAMJÎ. THE HONORABLE W. E. FRERE, PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

Before entering upon this important subject, I hope, I shall be permitted to mention some of the unfortunate events which occurred during the long period of the Great Persian Empire.

More than four thousand years ago the Great Persian Empire,* was constantly harassed by its enemies, and was invaded by them, but none of them conquered it in its meridian glory. At last, in its decline, it was first conquered, to its great misfortune, by Alexander the Great, in the reign of Darius or Dârâ, the third; and the conquering monarch, by a most deplorable policy, destroyed not

* Eng. Trans. Dabistan or school of manners of 1843. Vol. I. P. p, LXXVIII.

only a great part of the Library of the Empire,* but also the most magnificent Citadel of Istêkhâr, and the most ancient monumental relics of Persepolis†;—facts well known to many nations, and which are sources of the deepest grief to the hearts of the Persians, who suffered such a grievous injury at the hands of the conqueror, and such an irreparable loss to all their future generations.

After the lapse of a few centuries the Persian Empire was fortunately re-established by Ardêshâr Bâbêgân,‡ the first king of the Sassanian Dynasty, in whose reign also the ancient religion of Zoroaster was re-established, and which continued with glorious success in that mighty empire for the space of more than five centuries during the reigns of his successors, till the period of the second invasion of Persia by the fanatic Mahomedans. It cannot be doubted that the *rare* and most interesting sect—the Parsees both

* Ouseley's Travels in the East of 1821. Vol. I. p. 410. 411. Vol. II. p. 411 Note. Eng. Trans Dabistan or school of manners. Vol. I. p. 278. 279. Note. Vol. II. p. 344. & *Notices des Manuscrits*, &c. Vol. VIII. p. 159.

Zand Avesta by Anquilil. Vol. II. p. 338. & 364 Note 181.

Journal of the American Oriental Society of 1856 Vol. V. No. II. p. 355.

Vide the *Amoenitates Exoticae* of Kaempfer p. 302; and the "*Memoire Historique Sur Persepolis*" of M. Langles, in the third Volume of his "*Collection Portative de Voyages*."

Hyde, *Rel. Vet. Pers.* 1760 P. 568.

Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Vol. XXXVIII. P. 216. 217.

+ Ouseley's Travels in the East Vol. I. p. 297, Vol. II. Pages 303, 319. 332 Note (138) (See Strabo Lib. XV.)

Eng. Trans. Dabistan or school of manners Vol I. p. 224 Note.

A Popular Description of Persia and China by J. Conder Vol. II. p. 71.

Porter's Travels of 1822 Vol. I. p. 647.

Strabo by Falconer and Hamilton of 1857. Vol. III. Pages 132. 133.

‡ Bible Cyclopedica of 1847 Vol. II. p. 298 Nineveh and Persepolis by W. Vaux of MDCCCL. p. 112.

Eng. Trans Dabistan Vol. I. P. CIII. P. 266. 283.

of Persia and India,—was well known to the world for upwards of two thousand years, by the miraculous prophecies and moral doctrines of their revealed religion*; but the greater part of their works on religious literature was ultimately lost and destroyed, with their great kingdom, by the Mahomedans. The fall of their empire obliged the Zoroastrians to leave their father-land for the preservation of their religion, and their property and the great depository of Persian literature, were thus left in the hands of the Mahomedans. •

On their taking possession of the great kingdom, the barbarous Mahomedans followed the example set by Alexander the Great, and destroyed the works on Persian literature:† Omar Kitub having collected all the works belonging to the Library of the Persian Empire, used them as fuel for the kitchen of his immense household for several months. We cannot, therefore, any longer be surprised at the existing poverty of Persian literature; but still we are fortunate in having many of the ancient Zand and Pêhlvi works saved from the hands of the Mahomedans. \

At the time the Mahomedans conquered Persia, our ancestors left their country, and were led by Providence into many parts of Hindôstân. They were obliged to resort to a thousand schemes,‡ for the preservation of their religion.

* Eng. Trans. Dabistan. Vol. I. Pages. 222. 226 Note I.

† The Reply of Mulla Feroz to the Bengal Critique. p. 7.

Popular Poetry of Persia of MDCCCXLII. Eng. Trans. by Chadzko Esq. P. 465. Transaction R. A. S. G. B. & I Vol. III. p. 526.

Journal of the American Oriental Society of 1856 Vol V. No. 11. p. 355. Ouseley's Travels in the East of 1821 Vol. II. p. 410 to 411.

‡ Ouseley's Travels in the East Vol. I. p. 144. Wilson on the Parsi Religion p. 210.

They first came under the protection of the Hindu Râzâ or king Jâdê Rânâ of Sanjân; and then under the protection of the British Government, a large part of Hîndôstân having come under that rule to whose paternal care we are greatly indebted.

The learned Mulla Feroz has passed a very high eulogium on the British Râz, in his famous poem, entitled "George Nâmeh," or the History of the British conquest of India. This was the first Persian work on the British Government, and is described by Persian literati, so many of whom are the happy subjects of this Government, as recording a faithful history of the chivalric bravery of the British, in every part of the world. I am happy to add, to what the learned Mulla has said, that no other nation on earth has contended so successfully in the vast field of oriental lore, or has offered such a heroic defence of its life and honor.

The Iranian languages, which were almost entirely neglected in consequence of the decline and fall of the ancient monarchy, are at present so much cultivated again, by the philological labors of the Continental Orientalists, that these languages are more indebted to foreigners than to those who speak them, for the knowledge that is possessed of their history and structure.*

Opinions regarding the Zand language are very conflicting.† Those who advocate its genuineness are opposed by

* Dr. T. Hyde, M. A. Du Perron, M. J. F. Kleuker, M. E. Burnouf. Prof. E. Rask, Prof. F. Bopp, Prof. C. Lassen, Revd. Dr. J. Wilson, Dr. F. Spiegel, Prof. H. Brokhaus, Sir C. H. Rawlinson, Prof. Westergaard and others.

† Sir W. Jones, Mr. Richardson, Col. V. Kennedy, Mr. Erskine, Mr. J. Romer &c.

a few learned Orientalists; but the latter have no good foundation for their theory and they even contradict themselves.* It is not strange that some Orientalists should raise doubts as to the genuineness of the Zand language, for belief in the existence of things most palpable to the senses is reasoned out of some persons by the ingenuity of "minute philosophers." The following observations will, I hope, clearly prove how contradictory are the opinions of those who disbelieve in the Zand.

I enter upon this subject with a view to prove the genuineness and authenticity of the Zand language and Zand Avesta from the most reliable original sources, and from the testimonies of Greek, Latin, Armenian, Syrian, German, French and other European authors, on whose authority we have sufficient reason to rely.† Before I reply to Mr. Romer's‡ question, *viz*—"Zend—is it an original language?" I think, I should, first of all, animadvert on the hypothesis of Schlegel, Sir W. Jones, Richardson, Vans Kennedy and others, which requires refutation, because Mr. Romer has based his argument on it.

With regard to the Zand language, the translator of

* Eng. Trans. Dabistan or school of Manners Vol. I. P. 223. Note.

Sir W. Jones contradicted by Kleuker and V. Kennedy, Mr. Richardson, by Adelung and others, and Mr. Erskine by Prof. E. Rask

† Plato, Aristotle, Theopompus, Nicolaus, Strabo, Pausanius, Pliny Dion, Chrysostomus, St. Clement, Eusebius &c. &c. Dr. T. Hyde Eng. Trans. Dabistan Vol. I. P. 224. F. Kleuker, Dr. Brokhaus, Dr. Rhode, Dr. F. Speigel, Professor Bopp, M. A. Du Perron, M. E. Burnouf, Prof. C. Lassen, Revd. Dr. Wilson, Prof. E. Rask, Professor H. H. Wilson, M. A. Troyer, D. Shea, Sir C. H. Rawlinson and several others.

‡ About five months after this paper was read before the society, I learned with much regret of the death of Mr. Romer.

Professor Heeren's works, supported by the authority of W. de Schlegel, puts the following question:—

"Has any ancient dialect ever borne the name of Zand?"*

The doubt implied in the above inquiry is most disingenuous; for if the inquirer had consulted the works of the Greek, Armenian, and Syrian authors, he would never have asked such an absurd question.

If the language never bore the name of Zand, how could the foreign authors have mentioned in their writings, that the works composed by Zoroaster were in that language?† And if the works of Zoroaster never existed, how could the foreign authors be aware of the fact that the Zand language was that in which the works of Zoroaster were compiled? Further if the name of Zand was not known in ancient times, why did the ignorant foresters of Iran or Persia use the identical term of Zand in speaking of the language. Supposing that no language bearing this name ever existed formerly, how then can we account for foreigners‡

* Heeren's Historical Researches Vol. II. P. 341 Note No. 12.

† In the fourth century B. C. Plato, Aristotle and Theopompus, show a knowledge of Zoroaster's Works. Eng. Trans. Dabistan Vol. I. p. 224. Note. J. R. A. S. G. B. and I. of 1846 Vol. X. Part I. p. 42. Note I.

Mém. de l' Acad. des Inscript Vol. XXXVIII. P. 167. 268.

‡ The word Zand Avesta is used by the Armenian, Syrian, and Syro-Arabian, as follows:—"Zendik, or Zendak," "Sandik," "Abestak," or "Ayestak," and "Abestogo" or "Avestogo." The Semitic forms are Apestako, or Apesták. In the ancient Aire Coti language, the word Zand Avesta is called "Sanabesta." The modern German and other European Orientalists use the word in various forms "Send" or "Sent" and Abastak, Apastan, Avestan, Apesta and the last I would call in its genuine form Zand Avesta, or else according to the doctrine of Zoroaster, I would prefer to call it Mānθru Spēntu; i. e. the celestial language or holy word. See Appendix Note A.

having mentioned the Zand language in their respective works, as early as the fourth century B. C.? Plato, Aristotle and Theopompus showed a knowledge of Zoroaster's works.*

This fact in itself proves the authenticity of the language, and I am decidedly of opinion that the word Zand is the name of the characters in which the books are written, and Avesta that of the sacred language†; the Zand Avesta therefore has borne a true name according to its fundamental origin.

Further it is asked, "To what country and epoch does this pretended language belong?" If a language is a pretended one, it may be asked what is the use of ascertaining the country and epoch to which it belonged or belongs. It is quite useless to discuss the question. Even if it be a pretended one, the public must be informed in what country and epoch the language was forged, so that the very hypothesis of my opponent may be supported, and it may clearly appear that it is a pretended language.

It appears from the doctrine of the Zand Avesta that the sacred language was first introduced by Zoroaster into the vast empire of Iran or Persia, under the royal patronage of king Gustasp or Hystaspes, that it was afterwards used by the Iranians or Persians as a popular language in the whole empire of Iran; and at the same time it was ordered by king Gustasp that Zoroaster's Revelation should

* Eng. Trans. Dabistan Vol. I. p. 224 Note I. and p. 277. Note I.
Anhang. Zum Zend Avesta by Kleuker in appendix.

† Eng. Trans. Dabistan of 1843 Vol. I. p. 222 No. I.
Zend Avesta by Westergaard Vol. I. P. p. 1. Note No. I.
Zend Avesta by Dr. Spiegel Vol I, P. 45.
See Appendix Note B.

be written upon 12,000 cows'-skins or parchments,* and these written parchments were deposited by order of the royal patron in the magnificent archives of Istêkhâr about four centuries B. C.

From this authority the country and epoch of the genuine language are clearly proved.

Further, if the learned controversialists had examined the fundamental principles of the Zand language in a philological point of view, they would not have dared to lay their unsupported opinion before the public.

I beg them to consult the following opinions of the learned professor H. H. Wilson and Mr. A. Troyer.

Professor Wilson says,—“For our first accurate knowledge of the religious books of the Parsis of Gujarat, we are indebted as is well known, to Anquetil du Perron. Both in his translation of the Zand avesta, and in some separate dissertations published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Monsieur du Perron has maintained the authenticity and high antiquity of the Zand and Pahlvî languages, in which those works are composed. The former he asserts to have been the spoken language of the countries between the Caspian and Black Sea, and of the upper part of Mesopotamia, or in a word of Northern Media, several centuries before the era of Christianity. Pahlavî, according to him, was also spoken in the countries between Dilem, Mazanderan, and Farsistan, at least as far back as the date of Zoroaster, the reputed author of the Zand avesta.†

* Hyde's *Rel. Pers.* p. 317-319.

Eng. Trans. *Dabistan* 1843, Vol. I. p. 224 Note.

Ouseley's *Travels in the East* of 1821. Vol. II. p. 344. 364. 393. & 410.

† J. R. A. S. G. B. and I. Vol. IV. p. 345.

Mr. Troyer also says:—

“It is besides now decided by the investigations of the above-named author, and by those of Kleuker, Rask, as well as by those of Messrs. Eugène Burnouf, Bopp, Lassen, and other philologists, that Zand was an ancient language derived from the same source as the Sanskrit; it was spoken before the Christian era, particularly in the countries situated to the west of the Caspian Sea, namely in Georgia, Iran Proper, and Azerbaijan (the Northern Media.)”*

From the corroborative testimony of the above authorities it is proved that the Zand language did formerly exist in Iran or Persia before the commencement of the Christian era, and it was considered to be the sacred spoken language in Iran in the reign of Darius Hystasp or Gustasp.†

Further the translator of Heeren’s works quotes from the same authority,—“Is it not rather a corruption of Sanskrit Chandas, one of the most usual appellations of the Vadas?” No, for this supposition, I beg to call the attention of my candid readers to the succeeding pages. •

When the question as to the comparative Philology of the Zand and Sanskrit languages is decided, we shall have strong reasons for believing that the Zand is an independent language, and not a corruption of the Sanskrit.

The learned translator says, on his own responsibility—“As to the Zand Avesta, our literary dictator supposes it to be a comparatively recent forgery by Guebers or Parsees

* Eng. Trans. Dabistan Vol. I. p. 222. Note I.

† Hyde’s Reli Persi of 1760. Ps. 303. 312. 335.

Zend Avesta by A. Du Perron. T. I. 2. P. pp. 60–62.

Zend Avesta by Kleuker. app. 1. etc. P. 327.

J. R. A. S. G. B. and I. Vol. X. P. I. P. 42. N. I.

of Guzrát; an opinion indeed which others besides himself have entertained." (Vide Page 341.)

I judge from the erroneous opinion of the translator, as well as his dictator and others, that they have not taken the trouble of examining the origin of the language in a philological point of view.

If the language was forged or fabricated by the Parsís, would it stand the test of comparative Philology? No. It would be quite impossible. The invention of a language, according to the general opinion, is contrary to all probability. I beg to request those learned men to look into the extensive comparative Grammar of the learned professor Bopp, where the great orientalist compares the Zand language, not only with the Sanskrit, but with the Greek, Latin and Teutonic languages, and clearly proves that the origin of the language is as natural, as that of the Hindo-Germanic language. I consider therefore the opinions of my opponents to be wholly incorrect.

If I grant for the sake of argument that the Zand language was forged by the Parsís of Guzrát after their emigration from Persia, let me ask how could the Zand character be engraved on several of the blocks of stones of the ruined buildings of Bisutun? Hear what Colonel Rawlinson, (Now Sir. H. C. Rawlinson.) says:—*

"That the ruined buildings at Bisutún are of the Sássaniân age, is proved by a capital, sculptured in its peculiar style, as well as by some words in the Zand characters engraved on several of the blocks of stone." From this monumental relic the authenticity of the Zand language is clearly proved,

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London of 1830.
Vol. 9 P. I. p. 114.

and there is no doubt that the language really existed in Persia before the Parsis came to Guzerat: or else, how, and in what manner could the characters have been engraved on several blocks of stone in Persia? In further proof of this I beg to refer to the testimony of the Cuneiform inscription on the tablet of Persepolis to show that the Cuneiform inscription is apparently the sister to the Zend language.* The genuineness of the language is also proved by the

* *Memoires de la Société Royale Des Antiquaires du Nord.* 1844, p. 272 by Westergaard. •

Heeren's *Historical Researches* Vol. II, p. 324.

Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay 1820 Vol. II. p. 172, 173, and 183.

Vide p. 40 to 42 *Talim-i-Zurtoasht*; or the Doctrine of Zoroaster of 1840. Note by Sir. H. C. Rawlinson

Page 325 to 328. Vol. I. No. III. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* of 1847 and also p. 522, 527, 543 and 550. Vol. I. No. IV. do. do. of MDCCCXLIX.

An appendix to the fourth edition of Heeren's *Ideen über die Politik den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmster Völker der alterWelt*, published at Gottingen in 1824 by Professor Grotefend. Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zend-Avesta of 1826 by Professor Rask.

Memoire sur deux Inscriptions Cunéiformes trouve'es pres' d' Hamadan. 1836 by Professor Burnouf. •

Die alt-Persischen Kiel-Inschriften von Persepolis of 1836 by Professor Lassen.

Parts I and III. of Vol. VI. of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Mongenlandes* of 1844-45 by Professor Lassen.

P. 10 Vol. X. Pt. I. to Vol. XI. Pt. I. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* of 1846-49, by Sir C. Rowlinson.

P. 235 Vol. XXXII New Series No. CXXVIII *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* August 1840. •

Page 173 Vol. II. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* of 1820.

P. 51 Vol. IV. *The Bombay Quarterly Review* of 1856.

P. 32 *The Languages of the Seat of War in the East.* Second Ed. 1855, by Max Müller. •

Les Inscriptions des Achéménides, conçues dans L' idiome des Anciens perses éditées et commentées par M. J. Oppert MDCCCLI.

Proceedings of the Philological Society of 1854 Vol. I. P. 129.

late investigations of the Continental Orientalists, who after the application of comparative philology, are of opinion that the Zand is an original language. I refer to the learned Philologers of our day, Professor E. Rask, E. Burnouf, C. Lassen, F. Bopp and others.* The Revd. Dr. Wilson also agrees in this opinion.

As regards the Cuneiform inscription of Persepolis I am not merely of opinion that it is analogically connected with the Zand; but I shall prove by a philological argument that these cuneiform inscriptions are in the Zand language. We see that these inscriptions are chiefly found on the tablets of Persepolis, which date from the time of Cyrus and Darius Hystasp, or Gustasp; but as there are none anterior to this time we have sufficient grounds to believe that, according to the doctrine of the Zand Avesta, the language was first introduced by Zoroaster in the reign of Hystaspis or Gustasp, which, in the unanimous opinion of the chronologists, was about four centuries B. C. From this also is proved the epoch of the Zand Avesta, and that the language did formerly exist in the Persian empire in the reign of Hystasp or Gustasp. The above testimonies are strongly corroborated by the Greek authors who existed about four centuries B. C. and who showed a knowledge of Zoroaster's works.†

Having given these authorities, I leave the case in the hands of candid inquirers to decide whether the language was

* Transaction of the Royal A. S. G. B and I Vol. III. P. 525 &c.
 Burnouf Commentaire, Sur Le Yaçna tom I Pref.
 Wilson on the Parsi Religion. P. 406.
 Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde. Vols. 1, 2, & 3.
 Bopp's comparative grammar. Vol. I. Pref. p. XII.

† Plato, Aristotle and Theopompas. Eng. Trans Dabistan Vol. I. P. 224. N. I.

fabricated by the Parsî priests after their emigration from Persia, and particularly I request my opponents to consider at once the question of the authenticity of the Zand language in order to bring this controversy to an end.

As regards the comparison of the Zand and Cuneiform languages, I shall endeavour in the succeeding pages to show that the Cuneiform is no doubt identical with the Zand language.

“The assertions of Du Perron were strenuously opposed by Richardson, in the Preface to his Persian Dictionary who (like Mr. Romer) treats the claims of the Zand especially with great contempt, asserting it to be an invention of the Parsî priests, a barbarous jargon or *Lingua Franca*, called from the dialect of every surrounding country.”*

The above opinion of Richardson will shew the intelligent reader that his knowledge of the Persian dialect was very limited, or he would never have promulgated this opinion to the learned world. Can we believe that any person or even a Parsî priest could possess sufficient ability to fabricate a language so perfect in its grammatical construction as that of the Zand? Suppose we believe according to Richardson and Mr. Romer's hypothesis that “the language is an invention of the Parsî priests, a barbarous jargon, a *Lingua Franca*, called from the dialects of every surrounding country,” then must we believe that the Parsî priests went into every surrounding country in order to study the dialects of those different nations? And that in this way did they succeed in fabricating a language so copious and philosophical as the Zand? or else did they

* Vide Page 345 No. VIII of 1837 Journal R. A. S. G. B. & I.

collect several Dictionaries of the different dialects of the surrounding countries in order to invent the Zand language? This hypothesis however will not account for the many words in the Zand language which are natural to it, and which are not to be found in the dialects of any country. From what languages then and whence were those words selected by the Parsî priests for their "Lingua Franca"? Ignorance alone would call such a copious and philosophical language a barbarous jargon.

Suppose I admit that the Parsî priests have fabricated the language, then I would ask the supporters of Mr. Richardson's hypothesis and orientalists in general, whose vast philological learning is far superior to that of the learned Parsî priests of the present day, whether if they all joined together for such a purpose, would they be able to fabricate a language so perfect as the Zand? This opinion seems to be altogether unfounded. See the very valuable remarks of Mr. A. Troyer.*

"First that the forgery of a language is in itself highly improbable." •

"Secondly that if it had been attempted, comparative philology is perfectly capable of detecting it."

Our learned Honorary President, the Revd. Dr. Wilson, after a profound study of the ancient Zand language has expressed the following opinion:—†

"There is an approach to Gujarati idiom in some instances and to a Gujarati corruption of Sanskrit, which at one time marked considerable suspicions in my mind. Viewing the matter of the Zand language however in its

* Eng. Trans. Dabistan Vol. I. P. XXX under the head. Preliminary Discourse on the Desater.

† Wilson on Parsi Religion P. 406 to 407.

general aspect, I have no hesitation in declaring that none of the exiled and depressed Parsi priests in India can be supposed to have had the abilities to invent that language, with its extensive and minute grammatical forms, and with its abundant and regular analogies to the Sanskrit, Persian, Pahlavi, Greek, Latin, and Germanic languages as so distinctly evinced by Bopp and Burnouf."

This is the testimony of our Honorary President in favor of the authenticity of the Zand language, an opinion which has been deemed worthy of adoption by the majority of the learned Orientalists of the continent of Europe.

The opinion of Mr. Richardson has been strongly opposed by several learned Orientalists amongst them.*

"Adelung in his *Mithredates* advanced in opposition to Richardson that the invention of the language is contrary to all probability, and that the Zend must be considered as a real language which was once actually spoken." Vide page 346 No. 8 of 1837, *Journal of the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland*, with introductory remarks of the learned professor H. H. Wilson, chiefly a comment upon Mr. J. Romer's *Illustrations of the Zand and Pehlvi languages*.

The able opinion of Mr. A. Troyer is as follows:—

"These works, parts of which only existed in England, were then for the first time translated into an European language, and published in French by Anquetil. Examined as monuments of an ancient religion and literature of the Persians, they have been differently appreciated by learned men, and their authenticity denied by some, among whom

* Adelung in his *Mithredates*. Kleuker. *Ahung Zam Zend Avesta*. Mulla Firoz in Reply to Bengal Critique. P. 5.
Mill's *British India* by Prof. Wilson Vol. I. P. 429-430. Note.

the most conspicuous, are Sir W. Jones, Richardson, and Meiners, and defended by others, by none with more zeal than John Frederic Kleuker, who not only translated Anquetil's *Zand-Avesta* into German, in three volumes; but in an appendix of two volumes^c (all in quarto) commented and discussed with great judgment, sagacity, and erudition, all that relates to the Zand books attributed to Zoroaster.”*

Sir W. Jones, one of the Presidents of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, sees no reason to deny the authenticity of the Zand language, simply because as he says, he was inexpressibly surprised to find that six or seven words in ten were pure Sanskrit.†

Sir William candidly admits the superiority of the first Persian language,‡ as the mother of the Sanskrit, and he contradicts his own statement by the following words:—

“The language of the Zand was at least a dialect of the Sanskrit, while in the same discussion on the contrary, he declares that the language of the first Persian Empire was the mother of the Sanskrit, and consequently of the Zand and Persian as well as of Greek, Latin, and Gothic;”§

We do not agree with Sir W. Jones in the opinion that the Zand is a dialect of the Sanskrit; the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Zand do not establish such a theory. There are abundant proofs however, that the Sans-

* Eng. Trans. Dabistan Vol. I. P. 223. Note.

† Sir. W. Jones's work of 1807 Vol. III. P. 118.

‡ Sir W. Jones's works of 1807 Vol. III. P. 133.

Asiatic Researches of 1807 Vol. II. P. 64.

Transaction R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. III. P. 525.

Mulla Firoz in Reply to Bengal Critique P. 5, 6.

Penny Cyclopaedia Vol. XVII. P. 479.

§ Sir. W. Jones's work. Vol. III. P. 132-133.

krit is a dialect of the first Persian language. If the learned orientalist had investigated the origin of both the Zand and Sanscrit languages according to the principles of Comparative Philology, he would not have maintained an opinion unfavorable to the independence of the Zand language, because when tested by the rules of grammar, the Zand has equal claims to be regarded as an independent language as the Sanskrit, and this opinion is strongly corroborated by the learned philologists of the present day, such as Professors E. Rask, E. Burnouf, F. Bopp, Dr. Wilson, C. Lassen and others, who maintain that Zand is a language independent of the Sanskrit.

Here I shall not only express my gratitude to those philologists, for their valuable opinions; but must also testify to their close investigation of the Oriental languages. If Sir W. Jones be inexpressibly surprised &c, it will be no marvel to oriental scholars who know that he never made any attempt to examine the origin of the Zand language, by a minute comparison of the Zand and Sanskrit words before expressing his unsupported opinion. In support of the view I have taken, I beg to offer the following testimony of the late Lieut. Colonel Vans Kennedy:—

“For the Zand Vocabulary, after rejecting words inserted more than once, religious terms, and proper names, consists of 664 words, and ought, consequently, according to Sir W. Jones’s opinion, to contain at least 398 Sanskrit words. But on examining it I find that it only contains seven Arabic, ninety-three Persian, and eighty-three Sanskrit words, with thirty that may be either Persian or Sanskrit; but, as they are found in a language alleged to have been spoken in Persia, they ought to be ascribed to the

former, and there will be 123 Persian, and fifty three Sanskrit words only, or rather less than one twelfth of the whole. 511 words, therefore, out of 664 remain which do not belong to either, Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit, or to any other known language."*

There then we see that in 664 Zand words only 83 Sanskrit words occur instead of at least 398 Sanskrit words required according to Sir W. Jones's calculations; from this investigation it appears that Sir W. Jones's curious speculation is contradicted by the correct calculation by Vans Kennedy.

The opinions of the European Orientalists, and of the Classical writers in opposition to the authenticity of Zand language are mere speculations, and hyperbolical calculations, and they do not prove the Zand to be a fabricated language of comparatively recent date.

The late Lieut. Colonel Vans Kennedy concurs with Sir W. Jones, and says—"that the Zand is a pretended language, invented by the Parsî Priests and never actually spoken or written by any people upon the face of the earth." This opinion of the Orientalist is wholly founded upon the unsupported authorities of others.

In my humble opinion he would have drawn quite a different conclusion, had he examined the authenticity of the Zand language by Comparative Philology, instead of by making a comparison of Zand and Sanskrit words. I do not see any reason why the language should be considered a pretended one. If the language never existed in Persia, how then could the Sassanian King Ardesher Bâbagân have succeeded in restoring the religion and literature of the

* Vans Kennedy on the Origin of languages 1828. P 172. 173.

Persian Empire about the year 225 of the Christian era.*

This fact has been handed down from generation to generation, by written or oral testimonies even to the present time. Further if the learned orientalist had taken a little more trouble and pains to examine the contents of the Yagnâ, Vendidad, Visparad &c. he would not have confirmed this opinion that the Zand is a pretended language.

That the Zand was a genuine language actually existing in Persia is quite apparent from the testimonies of the Greek Authors. *The works composed by Zoroaster, in the 4th century B. C. are noticed by Aristotle, Plato, and Theopompus, who showed a knowledge of his works.† If the language was never actually spoken by any people on the face of the earth, how then could those works have been composed by Zoroaster in that sacred language? and how could the Greek authors have mentioned the language when it never did exist in Persia?

In support of the authenticity of the Zand language, if it be still objected that the language was never actually spoken by any people on the face of the earth, I beg to refer to the following opinion of the learned Alexander Chodzks.

"The destructive influence of Islam has not yet done its work. We are told that on the banks of the Araxes in Karadagh, whole villages speak the Zand. The Goudars of Asterabad profess a religion, and speak a language, which have nothing in common with their Mussulman countrymen."‡

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849 Vol. XI. Part I. P. 186 Note 4. and Bible Cyclopedia Vol. II. P. 298.

† Eng. Trans. Dabistan or school of manners 1834 Vol. I. P. 224 Note I.

‡ Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia of MDCCCXLII. P. 465.

Further the learned Orientalist says:—"But I venture to affirm nothing dogmatically : let the learned decide. I only ask, can we consider as merely accidental such a confluence of hints coming in support of the assertion, that the Zand language, far from being known only to a privileged caste, was on the contrary spoken by the whole Persian nation? Otherwise, how could the ignorant foresters of Ghilan and Mazenderan have retained it?"*

From the above testimony it is proved most decidedly that the language did formerly exist in Persia, or else how could the ignorant foresters of Ghilan and Mazenderan have retained it?

Mr. Romer, formerly a member of council and acting Governor of Bombay, is laboring for the last twenty years, with all his learning and ability up to this moment to establish his own point of argument, that the Iranian languages are pretended ones, but as yet he has not succeeded in his ingenious undertaking to prove his supposition, on any reasonable foundation before the literary world. Mr. Romer, in his welcome letter to my address says as follows:—

"In fact nothing more than artificial languages, invented after the arrival of your forefathers in India."

This I beg to be permitted to say is but an unsupported assertion, and not the logical conclusion arrived at by valid Philological reasoning from the character, elements, and structure of the language.

If the language were forged or fabricated by my forefathers would it ever stand the test as it does of Comparative Philology?

In the opinion of Philologers the fabrication of such a copious language is utterly improbable.

* Vide p. 461 of the foregoing work.

I must therefore strongly protest against the conjecture of Mr. Romer and his followers.

I would again simply ask whether on the supposition of such a fabrication, Comparative Philology is not perfectly capable of detecting the forgery of a language?

Mr. Romer must observe that in the foregoing pages particularly in reply to the very hypothesis of Schlegel and Richardson. I have proved that Zand Avesta formerly existed in Persia before my forefathers came into India.* Otherwise how could the Greek, Latin, Arminian, Arabian, and other authors who lived before and after Christ refer to several extracted passages and principal words from the Zand Avesta† in their respective works when they knew nothing of my forefathers of Western India who are said

† Vide above p.p. 6. 8.

‡ Vide Hermippus, as quoted by Pliny, lib. XXX. C. I. Xenophon in his Cyropaedia. Theopompus who lived 350 years before Christ, informs us, as quoted by Plutarch. De Isideet Osiride. Plato, Aristotle, show a knowledge of Zoroaster's works. The works attributed to Zoroaster are mentioned under different names by Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Pausanius, Pliny, and Dion Chrysostomus, St Clement of Alexandria, in the third century, was not unacquainted with them. Orat. Borysth, Suidas, Eusebius in Praepar Evang. p. 42. and Strabo, (Geog lib XV. p. 733) D. S. Moses of chorene (see Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers. p 16 & 385.)

Muhammed Abu Jafar, Ebr Jenir el Tabari. (Hyde 317-319) Abu Muhammed Mustapha, in his life of Gushtasp or Hystashp. Tabari. Masaudi. & Josua bar Bahlul, mentions Abistogo, (or Avesta) Hyde. Vet. Pers. p 337. Mem. del." Acad. des. Inscript. Vol. XXXVIII. p p 167-268 and also Mem des Inscript ut supra p 173. Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay 1820 Vol II p p 312 Note 337. Vide. p. 55. 56. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben vonder Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. unter der verantwortlichen Redaction. des Prof. Dr. Hermann, Brockhaus. 1 B. and. No. I. Mithra Von Dr. Friedrich Windischmann. Leipzig 1857.

by Mr. Romer to have fabricated the language long after Christ or about twelve centuries ago.

It is for Mr. Romer to show, how and in what manner the above named authors were aware of the contents of the Zand Avesta before and after Christ.

Most of the Occidentalists and Orientalists have commented on and discussed a few of the passages of the Zand Avesta in their several works according to their ability and learning.

I beg to refer to those authorities (in the succeeding pages) which will satisfy all candid inquirers and most particularly Mr. Romer who has devoted so much of his time and talents to Oriental literature.

Mr. Romer must observe that the Parsis of India could not have predetermined to forge a language previous to their own existence, the existence of which the ancient Greek authorities corroborate and Cuneiform Inscriptions and monumental records support.

Mr. Romer coolly asks;—

“Zend: is it an original language?”

Most certainly it is an original language, and if he thinks it is a pretended language, I would simply solicit Mr. Romer to inform me in what country and epoch, where and when was the language fabricated? Unless this very first hypothesis be established it is not fair to say that the language in question is a pretended one.

Should Mr. Romer, fail in this particular point of argument he will be considered by learned men as having lost his case.

Mr. J. Romer in supporting others has expressed the opinion,—

"That the Sanskrit supplied the frame-work upon which Zand has been constructed."*

Hence I refer inquirers to the valuable introductory remarks by Professor Wilson, one of the Directors of the Royal Asiatic Society on Mr. Romer's paper, and further I beg to say that if the learned gentleman had but compared the Grammar of the Zand and Sanskrit languages, he would never have incorrectly stated that the frame-work of the Zand is supplied by the Sanskrit. But we find by close investigation that the Zand is apparently a language independent of the Sanskrit, on which point the reader will be fully satisfied by referring to the succeeding pages under the head of comparison of the Zand and Sanskrit languages.

We see by a minute investigation that the Zand is apparently a language independent of the Sanskrit and of which the reader will be fully satisfied by just referring to the elaborate Comparative Grammar of Professor Bopp, about which the most learned Professor Wilson of the Sanskrit language says as follows:—

"Professor Bopp has taken the Zand for the basis of an extensive Comparative Grammar of it with the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Teutonic tongues."†

We see also that Professor Bopp after a comparison of the Zand and Sanskrit languages has himself acknowledged the superiority of the Zand over the Sanskrit.

"The Zand Grammar can only be recovered by the process of a severe regular etymology, calculated to bring back the unknown to the known, the much to the little; for this remarkable language, which in many respects reaches beyond,

* J. R. A. S. G. B. and I. Vol. IV. p. 363.

† J. R. A. S. G. B. and I. Vol. IV. p. 349.

and is an improvement on, the Sanskrit, and makes its theory more attainable, would appear to be no longer intelligible to the disciples of Zoroaster. Rask who had the opportunity to satisfy himself on this head, says expressly (V. D. Hagen p. 33) that its forgotten lore has yet to be rediscovered.”*

Further he says:—“Just in the places where the Zand forms are of the most interest, and where are some which display that independence of the Sanskrit which Rask claims, perhaps in too high a degree, for the Zand; a language we are however unwilling to receive as a mere dialect of the Sanskrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin, as compared with the Greek, or the Old Northern with the Gothic. For the rest, I refer the reader to my review of Rask’s and Bohlen’s treatises on the Zand in the annual of Scientific Criticism for December 1831, as also to an earlier work (March 1831) on the able labours of E. Burnouf, in this newly-opened field.”†

Besides this we see that the well known E. Burnouf, Professor of the Zand and Sanskrit languages, after a most minute comparison, and from a close analysis of the Zand and Sanskrit, is of opinion that Zand roots are to be found in the Vedic Sanskrit.

The learned reviewer of the “Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review” says as follows:—

“E. Burnouf further considered that he had proved that the Zand was contemporaneous with the ancient dialect of the Vedas, and that, without being derived from Sanskrit, the two languages had a common source. By a close analysis he

* Bopp Comparative Grammar Eng. Tran. Sd. Edi. Vol. I P P IX

† Bopp comparative Grammar Eng. Tran. Sd. Edi. Vol. I P P, XII.

discovered the Zand roots which are to be found in the Vadic Sanskrit.”*

After considering this investigation of E. Burnouf, many learned orientalists have the opinion that Zand was an ancient language derived from the same source as the Sanskrit.†

From the above opinion of the most learned philologists, including the Revd Dr. Wilson, Dr. Spiegel and others, it is decidedly proved that the Zand has not derived its origin from the Sanskrit; but is considered as a primitive language of the Arian nation.°

Now will Mr. Romer substantiate his theory from the principles of sound Philology?

The capital of Bactria or Balkh was not only the Royal Residence‡ of Peshdadian Kings; but was also the capital of all the Kanian Kings and in the time of Gustasp or Hystasp, the first rites of Zoroaster's doctrines in the Zand Avesta were adopted by the whole of the Persian, Median, and Bactrian nations. This fact was well known to their neighbours in surrounding countries as also occidental and oriental writers.§ And the opinion of the latter¶ are unanimously adopted by the learned men on the continent of Europe.||

* July MDCCCLIII No XII. Vol. III. page 438.

† Eng. Trans. of Dabistan Vol. I page 224. Note. I. Out. Phil Vni. His. Vol. I. p. 114.

‡ Hyde Religis Veterum Persarum P. 312.
Ariana Antiqua P. 124.

§ Arian Antiqua of 1841 P. 124 Hyde Religis. Veterum. Persarum P.312. and Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions Vol. XXXVII. Zendavesta of F. Kleuker, appendix I. 1 etc at S. p. 327 etc. Vide p. 237 Vol. I. Heeren's Historical Researches. P. 159 Vol. II. An Epitome of the History of the World, by John Hoyland 1821. Vol. II. P. 159.

|| Zand avesta or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians by Prof. N. L. Westergaard. Vol. I. Preface P. 16.
The Bombay Quarterly Review of 1856. Vol. IV. P. 59.

From the above testimonies it is positively proved that the Zand is the original language of Persia.

The Airyan species of Arrow-headed or Cuneiform inscriptions, are the glorious monumental records of the most noble Achaemenian dynasty, and are still preserved as anti-relics of the ancient Persians.*

These inscriptions are found almost in tri-lingual and trilateral, in many parts of Persia, at Hamadân, Vân, and Behistan, also on the walls of the ancient palaces of Persepolis and Pasargadae.

I have said in the foregoing pages, that I will prove by philological argument that the Cuneiform inscription is the sister Zand language.

I now beg to solicit the attention of the society while I proceed to compare the Hagiographic words of the Zand Avesta with the Cuneiform Inscription of the Behistan, after rejecting several words which occur more than once as well as proper names of persons, provinces and things.

Adam. "I (am),, The pronoun of the first person singular, and "am,, seems to be understood; compared by the European Philologers with the Zand regular pronoun *azem*. I prefer comparing the word with the Zand pronoun *Adēm*; this word is used before the *Z* verb with the prep, *fra*. as *Adēm Framarumi* "I say,, or I "speak,,?

Dar (a) yawush, "Darius,, Noun. Masc. Nom. Sing. son of Vashtaspa, corresponding with modern Persian *Dârâb*.†

K'hshayathiya. "the King,, Nom. Sing. compare the Zand *Khshathra*, the root *Khsha* "to rule with unlimited power, and *thya* the suffix.

* Egypt's place in universal History by Baron Bunsen. Eng. Trans. by C. H. Cattrell. Esq. 1859 Vol. III. P. 457. and 467.

† Vide Ps. 185-188. Vol. XI Pt I. J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849.

Wazarka. "Great,, Masc. Nom. Sing. as adjective qualifying the noun, K'hshayathiya, comp, Modern Persian buzrug, derived from the Zand root "bazu.,,

K'hshayathianām. "of Kings" gen. plu. comp Zand Khshathranam. The "nām" the sign of the gen. plu signifies "the king of kings.,,

Parsiya. "Persia, gen sing. comp with the Zand "Parâ-sens?,"* and in Modern Persian Farstân, or Parastân, and in Pehlvi, "Para."

Dahyunām. "of provinces" gen. plu. comp. Z. Danghanam? or Dhkhyanām.

Vashtaspahyá. "Hystaspis" Masc. gen. sing. comp Zand Vishtâspahe. the royal follower of Zoroaster.

Putra, "Son" Masc. nom. sing. answer in its direct sense to the Zand Puthra.

Arshamahya "Arsamis., Masc. gen. sing. comp. the Zand Arshashang.†

Napa. the "Grandson" Masc. nom sing. comp. Zand Napu.

Hak'hamanishiya. "Achaemenian" Masc. gen. sing. comp. Zand Hakmaina compounded of "Hakha,, "a friend or relative,, "Maina,, "mind.,, when taken together means "friendly minded.,,

Thátiya "he says,, third person. sing. from the Zand root Sash "to say.,,‡

Maná, "of my" Pron gen. sing comp. Zand Mana. gen. sing of "me.,,

Pitá, "father" Masc. nom. sing. comp Zand Patá.

* Yaçna. Ha. LX?

† See Burnouf. Yaçna P. p. 437. and 470.

J. R. A. S. G. B. and I. Vol. XI. Pt. I. p. 42 No. 2.

‡ J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. XI Pt. I. p. 17.

Ariyaramana. "Ariaramnes., The proper name of the third ancestor of Darius, Masc. nom. sing. this compound word is derived from the Zand Ariya "excellent., and Râman "pleasure.,

Chishpaish. "Teispes" Masc. gen sing. comp. The Zand root "chis., in adjective form signify "sensible., and the Noun. Pâyush "protector., agreeing proper N. Chishpaish.

Awahyaratiya. "on that account., The first etymon "awa., answer to the Zand Ava "that., the remote demonstrative pronoun, and the second syllable compare to the Zand hyâre "to be.,? but "hyaratiya., according to Sir C. Rawlinson's way signifies "account., a noun used with the pronoun and rendered it in the sense of "on that account., which agree with the Zand "that to be., or "on that account.,

Wayam. "we., pro. first. pers. nom. plural answer to the Zand Vaêm.

Thahyâmahya "appellamur., 1st pers. plu, present passive the primitive form "Thah., agree with the Zand root "shah., to say or to call, and the secondary form is merely a personal termination "mahaya., It is used below Hakhâmishya. "Thahyâmahya., "we are called."

Hachâ "from., pre. comp. Zand Hacha.

Par'uviyat "antiquity., ablt sing. agreeing Zand "parowat., "first., or "ancient.,

Amâ? tá. "Oriundi" "(invicti)., Owing to the decayed state of the tablet. Sir Rawlinson has deciphered on the supposition but the word will answer to the original Zand word "Amavata., "brave., or "hero.,

Amahya. "we are., present tense, first person, plural comp, Zand "ahmahi.,

Hÿâ "those., Rel. pron. gen. plu. comp Zand hyâ above amak'ham.

Amak'ham. "of our., masc. gen. plu. agreeing with the Zand ahmâkem.

Tu'mâ "race., masc. gen. sing. below ahmakham. Comp Zand taokhma, the "kh" is merely mute in tauma.

Aha "Fuere., Imperfect active. third pers. plu. compare with the Zand âeghên?

Tiya. "qui., "that which" Nom. Sing. that and who compare with the Zand pronominal stem "ta., and the relative "ya., "that who., or "that which.,

Par'uwam. "prius., Sing. "before., used above K'hshaya-thiya agree with the Zand Paourvâm.

Nawam "ninth., nom. sing. comp. the Zand Nava.,

Dhuvitar (a) nam. "long time., adverb used below hawam.—

Washna. "grace., from the word will, or wish, masc. instru sing. comp. Zand Vasnâ.

A'uramazdâha. "Ormuzd." Proper noun. gen. sing. used above washna comp. Zand Ahuramazda.

K'hshatram "empire., Neu. acc. sing. from the Zand root "Khsha" comp. the Zand regular acc Khshathrem.

Frâbara "granted" third per. sing. often used in Zand as well as in the inscription "Fra., inseparable prep. but here it is used with the verb "bara., comp. Zand barat. "he granted.,

The above analysis as to the etymological construction and grammatical forms, of the language of inscriptions, enables me to discover the Zand roots in the inscriptions, therefore from the foregoing analysis, and by the help of Comparative Philology it clearly appears that the language

of the inscriptions is no other than a sister Zand language.

This opinion was first promulgated by M. A. D. Perron, Dr. Grotefend, M. St. Martin, and latterly it was supported most strongly by the distinguished European Orientalists, that the Cuneiform Inscription language is more akin to the Zand than the other Arian family of languages.*

The Cuneiform inscription is no doubt a synchronical language to the Zand and it is also made analogous with the Sanskrit language according to the rules of Comparative Philology, by the American Orientalist Mr. Salisbury; but it seems to me that the analyser is perfectly right in his undertaking with the exception of a very few words which show his limited acquaintance with the Zand language; he has headed the foundation of analysing with Sanskrit in which he is wrong.

However he himself acknowledges that his principal guidance for a reference to the Zand was Prof. Burnouf Com. sur Le Yaçna. So I cannot blame the author for such critical mistakes; but merely point out those words which deserve some notice. Instead of comparing with the Zand Avesta he has compared with the Sanskrit viz:—

Bāga, hya, bumim, martiyam, ākunusha, parunām, dahyunām, hakhamanishiya. &c. &c.†

Besides these there are many words which require some explanation to which I beg to call the attention of the learned critic, and at present I must condense my remarks within a few lines.

In deciphering the Cuneiform Inscriptions we always see that the great difficulty encountered by the European Orientalists is chiefly owing to their limited knowledge of the

* Vide. p. 11. Note *.

† See.app. Note C.

Zand language; but still we are thankful to the great and successful labours of Dr. Grotefend, St. Martin, C. Lassen, E. Burnouf, and most particularly to the distinguished British Orientalist Sir H. C. Rawlinson, who has opened a new field for the Historical account of the paramount nation and whose accounts are darkly comprehended within the age of the old world. The field is still open for many who may undertake to investigate the true origin of the Arian family.

Mr. Romer has addressed several letters to the newspaper Editors, and some articles have recently appeared in pamphlet forms, under various headings regarding the Iranian languages. They require no refutation from me but for the fact, that the question is one of vital importance to orientlists in general.

As for Mr. Romer's hyperbolical theory, I leave it entirely to learned Orientalists to decide by a fair criticism.

Mr. Romer while supporting his assertion that the Zand language is a forged one, has cited the examples of the celebrated Formosan language, and the Asmâyi Zubân of the Dasâtir and the Pasudo tongues.*

As to the Dasâtir and Pasudo languages, I leave* the question to some future discussion.†

The assertion that the Formosan language is genuine, does not stand on a solid foundation. It merely achieved a temporary success. It does not stand amongst the genuine languages, when tested by the light of comparative Philology. This example of Mr. Romer proves the Zand language to be original. If we admit it to be a forged language it must come within the same rank as the Formosan language.

* Page, 40. Zand:—is it an original language? by Mr. Romer.

† App. Note D.

The Formosan language was forged by Psalmanazar of whom the learned Mr. Troyer says as follows:—*

“This adventurer who was bold enough, while on the Continent, to set about inventing a new character and language, a grammar, and a division of the year into twenty months, published in London, although not twenty years old, a translation of the catechism into his forged language of Formosa, and a history of the island with his own alphabetical writing, which read from right to left—a gross fiction, the temporary success of which evinces the then prevailing ignorance in history, geography and philology. But pious zeal and fanaticism had changed a scientific discussion into a religious quarrel, and for too long a time rendered vain the objections of a few truly learned and clear-sighted men; until the imposter, either incapable of supporting longer his pretensions, or urged by his conscience, avowed the deception, and at last became a truly learned good and estimable man.† We see this example badly supports the cause of (considering the Zand to be a) forged languages.”

From the above conclusion and Mr. Romer's own evidence of the language it does not appear that he can support his speculation about the Zand, but on the contrary it clearly appears that the Formosan language and its neology, are no more than modern rubbish. If therefore the Zand language be classed under the same head by my

* Vide Eng. Trans. Dabistan Vol. I Preface Page .

† “This change took place in his thirty-second year he learned Hebrew and became an honest man, esteemed by Samuel Johnson; he wrote eleven articles in a well-known work, the Universal History, and his own life at the age of seventy-three years; the latter work was published after his death, which happened in his eighty-fourth Year in 1763.”

learned friend it must fall in the same category as the Formosan language.

It is patent to all orientalists, that the forgery of a language will never stand the test of comparative Philology, and no philologer will dare to shew the invention of the language. But on the contrary we find Orientalists in general admitting the genuineness of the Zand language and several works have been published on this subject, under distinguished patrons on the Continent of Europe, proving that, the Zand language did actually exist in Persia.

Before I take a review of the Zand and Sanskrit languages by analysis and by comparative Philology, I must ask Mr. Romer and others who are of his opinion, if the Zand is derived from the Sanskrit, and if the Sanskrit is an aboriginal language of India. I dare say that the Sanskrit was introduced as a foreign language into India from Iran. In proof of this assertion, I beg to quote several authorities, amongst them is one whose opinion Mr. Romer has no objection to subscribe to, I mean that learned Orientalist, Sir W. Jones. He tells us in his sixth Discourse on the Persians before the Asiatic Society of Calcutta "that the language of the first Persian empire was the mother of the Sanskrit and consequently of the Zand and Parsi as well as of Greek, Latin and Gothic."*

Professor Heeren mentioned the opinion of Father Paulino, and Dr. Leyden who are unanimous with Sir W. Jones' in this opinion.†

"The question whether the Sanscrit was an aboriginal Indian language, has been variously answered. Sir W.

* Asiatic Researches 1807. F. Edi. Vol. II Page 64.

† Heeren's Hist. Roas. Vol. II Page 112.

Jones is of opinion that the principal Asiatic nations and dialects were derived from Persia; and also that conquerors from the latter country invaded India, and brought with them their own language,* to which cause he attributes the striking resemblance between the Sanscrit and the Zend, one of the most ancient Persian dialects. Farther Paulino, who is so fond of contradicting Jones in every thing else, is at on this point however, unanimous with him.† The name of the later antiquary Dr. Leyden, to whom I shall soon have occasion to refer would certainly add much weight to this opinion, provided we were sure that the extent of his philological acquirements embraced a sufficient knowledge of the Zend also.”

Professor Rask especially in reply to Mr. Erskine, on the Zand language and Zand Avesta, says as follows:—‡

“First, it is remarkable that other learned men (amongst whom is Sir W. Jones) have supposed, on the contrary, that Sanscrit was introduced as a foreign language into India from Iran; and one cannot help thinking this much more likely, supposing that the great conquest or migration which spread Sanscrit all over the northern.”

This opinion is most strongly supported by the learned Philologer Frank and others.§

“It has been lately asserted by an eminent philologist,

* “Works, Vol. I P. 26, etc. And with respect to the Zend especially, P. P. 82. 83. in his Discourse on the Persians; “I was not a little surprised, says Sir W., “to find that out of ten words in Du Perron’s Zend Dictionary, six or seven were pure Sanskrit.” For the above assertion of Sir W. Jones, and others, — See forgoing P. 16. 18. of this work.

† “In his treatise, *De Affinitate Linguae Sanscradamicae et Persicae.*”

‡ Trans. R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. iii. Page. 525.

§ Penny Cyclopaedia Vol. XVII. Page. 479.

Frank, that the Parsi is the mother of the Sanskrit, others with Schlegel maintain that the contrary is the case; but if we consider the greater simplicity of the Parsi, the former opinion seems the most probable."

The great Orientalist Mulla Feroz after corroborating the opinions of Sir W. Jones and Maurice, says;—*

"The learned Sir W. Jones was of opinion that Iran or Persia was the country from which all the nations of the earth derived their origin."

It being according to him, the place whence people migrated in all directions and in which migration they of course carried their language along with them, he supposes that the language of the first Persian Empire was the mother of the Sanskrit and consequently of the Zand and Parsi as well as of Greek, Latin and Gothic. He goes further to say the inhabitants of Britain first came from Armenia, and that the Goths or Scythians first came from Persia. Vide Asiatic Researches Pages 64, 65, and Flowers of Persian Literature Pages, 45, 47."†

From the above unanimous opinion of so many learned Orientalists, it clearly appears that the Sanskrit is not the primitive language of India, but derived its origin from the first Persian language, or we may safely say, it was introduced into India from the mother country Aria or Iran; therefore its superiority over the Zand is most improbable.

The Sanskrit instead of supplying the frame work to Zand, owes its own existence to this ancient Persian language.

* Vide Page 5. The reply to the Bengal critique. by Mulla Feroze.

† Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Coti, or ancient Irish. 1802 by Lieut. Genrl. C. Vallancey. Intr. P. I. see app. Note. E.

PHILOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF THE ZAND AND SANSKRIT LANGUAGES.

Before comparing the Philology of both these languages, I may observe that the Zand writings proceed from right to left and the Sanskrit from left to right.

As to the mechanical construction of the Alphabets of both these languages, I put the subject aside at present, as I cannot condense it into a narrow compass. I simply propose to compare the characters of the languages.

In the Zand language there are forty-eight letters, twelve regular vowels and thirty-six consonants, and in the Sanskrit, forty-seven letters, fourteen regular and irregular vowels and thirty-three consonants.

In Zand there are twelve primitive vowels, and amongst them there is one which I would call the Anusvara, and which is superior to the Sanskrit Anusvara.

The Sanskrit Viserga does not exist in Zand.

In Sanskrit, I deem it necessary to divide vowels into two parts, proper and improper, my reason being, that it is not positively decided by European Grammarians as to how many vowels there are.

The learned Professor Wilson puts down in his Sanskrit Grammar fourteen vowels according to the rules of Indian Grammarians, whose opinions on this head, Professor Burnouf subscribes to. Professor Bopp, in his extensive comparative Grammar, reduces vowels from fourteen to eight; and Professor M. Williams is of the same opinion.

Now whatever reasons may have induced these learned professors to adopt their respective divisions as above stated, I am decidedly of opinion that in Sanskrit, there are six

regular vowels, viz. the three primitive Guna, and three augmented Veriddhi, and two semi-vowels *ṛi*, *ṛī*, total eight and the remaining six are proper and improper diphthongs, which the Philologists class as vowels, and bring up the total to fourteen.

But by close investigation it appears to me that the principal vowels are only six with Guna and Veriddhi.

In Zand there are apparently twelve regular vowels with Guna and Veriddhi, but not so imperfect as the Sanskrit vowels, and they bear a most natural appearance while combining with the consonants. No one can deny this fact which is so clear.

The superiority of the Zand vowel system over the Sanskrit is acknowledged by Professors, Burnouf, Bopp, and Lassen.

In Sanskrit there are three proper diphthongs Viz *ai*, *au*, and *âr*; and three improper diphthongs. Viz. *e*, *o*, and *ar*.

That there is no triphthong in Sanskrit is well known to the Philologers.

In the Zand language according to my own recent investigation there are more than twenty proper and improper diphthongs and ten triphthongs.

In the Sanskrit there are only thirty-three consonants; but in the Zand there are thirty-six with a regular classification.

The Sanskrit language has five semi-vowels and the Zand seven.

If we treat the subject of the orthographical system of both the languages, it will be quite evident that the Zand characters constitute a theory more attainable than the Sanskrit. I beg to refer inquierers to the Elaborate Com-

mentaire Sur le Yaçna by Burnouf, and extensive Comparative Grammar by Bopp.

Five years ago I compared the Zand alphabets with several Asiatic and European languages. In this comparison the Zand letters answered in orthographical system and were equally capable of articulation. The origin of the language is thus shown to be most natural in point of vowel and consonantal combination.

In the Asiatic and European languages parts of speech are so common that they are well known to the learned, but I must point out a few discrepancies, which exist between the Zand and Sanskrit languages which are of much importance in this discussion.*

On this point, I beg to refer inquirers particularly to M. Burnouf Yaçna and his several articles in the Asiatic Journal of Paris, Bopp's Comparative Grammar, Dr. Speigel, Professor Lassen and others, who have devoted most of their time to the study of comparative Philology, and whos works clearly show the superiority of the Zand over the Sanskrit language.

Allow me to take a review of the primal words of the Zand and Sanskrit languages by the aid of comparative Philology, which is most essential in finding out the fundamental origin of the language.

Compare the following words of the two languages.

Zand

Airya Vaéju.†

Hindo.

Bakhda.

Yama.

Sanskrit

Arya Vartta.

Hindo or Sinddhu.

Bahlika.

Yama.

* See app. Note F.

† App. Note G

Thraetana.

Homa.

Trita or Traitana.

Soma.*

From my humble investigation in various other instances it evidently appears that the Greek, Jew, Arab, and even Sanskrit scholars, have used the Zand and Persian names of Kings, Countries, Provinces and things, according to the rules of their own articulations, and disregarded the Arian languages.

The following examples will clearly prove my assertion.

The original term Airya, in its direct etymological sense signifies a mother country or the birth place of the Arianians. But the term Airya is used by the ancient Persians in the plural instead of the singular number and is thus made Aran or Iran.

The Hebrew writers ingeniously converted this word from Aran into "Elam" by changing the initial vowel "a" into "e" long and the semi-vowels r and n into l and m; the word, "Elam", signifies the father of the Persians.

The Arabian writers changed the last n, into k, and called it "Arâk," and the word used by the Greek in singular number "Aria."

It may be observed that in the oriental languages, it is generally an established rule that most of the letters should be interchangeable, particularly the semivowels, l, m, n, r, and s.† .

As to the origin of the word Arian or Iran, opinions of

* Vide P. 6. 141. to 143. Note Vol. I Wilson's Rig-Veda. Sanhita. 1850.

† Wilson on Parsee Religion. P. 348. 349. Note. J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849 Vol. XI. P. 45. N. 8. do. do. Vol. X. Pt. I. Page 34. Note 2.

the most learned Orientalists are variously expressed; * therefore I think it is fair to take a review of the word Airian.

This word is derived from "Airya," but the Persians and the Hindus both claim that term for the name of their native land, and they are distinguished by the term Airya Vaejo, and A'rya Vartta: so a great question is raised as to the geographical position of the respective countries; but thanks to the great labors of British and Continental Orientalists the claim of the Persians to it has been very ably proved by the most modern researches.†

The term A'rya Vartta is commonly applied to the whole extent of India; and according to Hindu geographers A'rya Vartta signifies "The holy land, the country extending from the eastern to the western sea and bounded on the north and south, by the Himāla, and Vindhya, mountains.‡

Mr. Curzen, who took a most active part in this discussion, translated from the original s'loka the following description of its boundaries:—

* Page 120. to 122. *Ariana Antiqua*. J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. XVI.

•Page 191. J. R. A. S. G. & I. of 1852. Vol. XIII. Pt. 2. Page 275. to 309. Humbolt's *Cosmos* Vol. I. Page 15. *Asiatic Researches* Vol. 2. page 64 to 65. *The Origin of Language* by Farrar. P. 188. 189. Notes. Max. Muller *Surrey of Languages* of 1855. S. Edi. P. 27. Note.

† Burnouf's *Comt Sur Le. Yaçna* Tom I P. 326, 460. Note 325 P. LXII and also P. IXJ P. 1XIJ.

J. C. Prichard's *Natural History of Man* Page. 165.

J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849 Vol. XI Pt. I Page. 22 Note 2. P. 44. 46.

Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* Page 121. 122.

Heeren's *Historical Researches* Vol. I P. 88, 60, 208 N. 3. 209, 210.

W. Ouseley's *Travels in the E.* Vol. I P. 428.

Asiatic Researches Vol. 2 Page 49-58.

J. Hoyland's *History of the world* Vol. I P, 306 to 307.

‡ Professor Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary* P. 90.

“As far as the sea to the east, and sea to the west, between those two mountains, lies the country which the intelligent know as Āryā-varṭta 2 Manu II. 22.*”

Although many authorities may be cited by the learned men who have supported various opinions on the subject from Puranas and Vedas of the Hindus, yet to a careful examiner it will be apparent that the evidences so adduced contradict each other because the word Arya-Vartta in its direct etymological sense does not convey any of the following meanings:—

“Brahma-Vartta, Bharata-Khund, Hindustan, or India Proper.”†

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* says with regard to the word in question,—“But it is no longer used as a national name, except as applied, to the holy land of the Brahmans, which is still called A'rya-âvarta, the abode of the A'ryas.”‡

At the same time we must be informed in what part of the country this Holy land is situated, because the Reviewer himself acknowledges on the authority of the Vedas that “In the later dogmatical literature of the Vedic age, the name of A'rya is distinctly appropriated to the three first castes of the Brahmanic society. Thus we read in the Sâtapatha-brahmana, A'ryas are only the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vais'yas, for they are admitted to the sacrifices. They shall not speak with every body, for the gods did not speak with every body, but only with the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and the Vais'ya. If they should fall into a conversation, with a

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. XVI. Page 191.

† See app. note H.

‡ *Edinburgh Review* of 1851 Vol. 94 P. 315.

Súdra, let them say to another man 'tell this Súdra so.' This is the law for an initiated man."

In support of the above assertion there are no direct or indirect evidences, that the A'rya Varta is either called India Proper or the abode of the Hindus.

The important question regarding the term A'rya Varta, I beg to leave in the hands of the learned to decide, whether we are to believe the Vedic age or the tradition of Manu.

In the Vedas the title "Arya" is given to the three first castes of Brahmanical Society* and the same term is mentioned in Manu (VI-21-24) as the name of the holy land. Let any one make a comparison of this Vedic and Manu, significations of the word Arya, and he will perceive how far the Veda and Manu are contradictory of each other, and there is no positive proof, that the term Arya Varta, was used in the ancient times to distinguish India Proper as is supposed by few of the European modern authors.

From the sure testimonies of the Hindus own Vedas, even granting great latitude to their views, they do not prove that the term Arya Varta was the name of their country Hindustan; and from this investigation as well as according to the opinions of Sir W. Jones, and others it is positive that the Hindus are merely foreigners, who settled in India at the time when the great emigration took place from Airya or Iran.†

At a public meeting of the Relief Fund, which was presided over by our amiable Governor Lord Elphinstone, our Honorary President Dr. Wilson, one of the learned orienta-

* Edinburgh Review Page 315 Vol. 94, of 1851.

† Asiatic Researches. Vol. 2 Page 64. 65. Humboldt's Cosmos Vol. I Page 15.

lists of the day, delivered himself on the subject as follows.*

“The first Scythian settlers in this country,—and as far as our information goes they were the first of the race of Adam who looked on its natural wonders or participated in its natural bounties,—were many centuries before the Christian era, either crushed into slavery or driven to the south by the mightier and more intelligent Aryas, from eastern Airya or Iran, from whom are sprung the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, whose representatives, we trust, will yet have the happiest destiny. The Vedas abound in notices of the conflicts of the white Aryas with the black-haired Dasyus. Barbarian invaders of varied names and designations, nursed in the invigorating climes north of the Hindu-Kush, soon afterwards proved too strong for the Aryas, debilitated by the climate, though they affected not in every instance permanent settlements in India.”

A monthly magazine Gnyandipak published at Surat, contains the following valuable remarks on the subject.†

“It may now be regarded as proved beyond all reasonable doubt that India is not the original country of the twice-born Hindus as a people professing the Brahmanical faith. Their birth-place was a country beyond the Himalaya mountains. Their sacred language, with its close affinity to those of ancient Media and Persia, and their primitive religion with its striking resemblance to the system of the Zoroastrians, alike indicate their trans-Indian origin. Thence, at an early period they brought the religion of the Veds into north-west of India, where, in a corner of the Punjab, they were first known as a tribe of foreign-

* The Bombay Times, July 22nd 1857 Page 1383. and Vide p. 17 to 21, India Three Thousand Years Ago by J. Wilson. D. D. F. R. S.

† Gnyandipak Surat October 1st 1857 P. 219 to 220.

ners. And there is every reason to believe that, for many years, they did not spread beyond the northern districts of the country. It is certain also that at this period the differences of professions and social position among them had not been stereotyped into the fixed and exclusive distinctions of the caste system. The sons and daughters of priests, soldiers, and merchants, intermarried and social intercourse was still unrestricted."

"These ancient immigrants into India distinguished themselves by the name *Aria*, that is "noble, well born," a designation which belonged also, as we learn from the Greek historian *Herodotus*, to the ancient inhabitants of *Media*, and may be traced in the modern *Ari*, and *Arikh*, still applied by the Armenians to the natives of that country. The "well-born" were afterwards designated "twice-born," their second birth being supposed to take place at the period of investiture with the *Janowi* (Sacred cord.) to which only pure Arians were entitled.

The great Orientalist *C. Lassen* who, devoted most of his time to the researches of Ethnographical subjects came to the conclusion that the Hindus are foreign settlers in India (from *Airan* or Eastern Iran). The learned Orientalist after a most minute comparison of the Zand and Sanskrit languages, by the aid of comparative Philology, says.*

"We can conceive only one route on which the Arian Indians immigrated into India (from *Airya* or Eastern Iran); they must have come to the Punjab from the Western *Kabulistan*. The roads, from the Oxus-country to the Eastern

* "From the *Indische Alterthumskunde* Vol. I" and English Translation. In the *Oriental Christian Spectator* May 1857 Vol. 9 Page 175.

Kabulistan, into the valley of Panch-kora, or into the Upper Indus-valley on the Piljit downwards, and thence either down the Indus from Giljit to Attok or from Giljit across the high tableland of Deoth, to Kashmir, are now known to us as the most rough and the most arduous that exist, and at no time appear as frequented or much used routes of connexion.* Only the small tribes of the Daradas could be led on the second road, from the Northside of the Hindukush into their highlands, not the mass of Arians into India. Through the western passes of the Hindukush, go all the known and great expeditions of war and of nations, and if we desire to bring the Aric Indians from Bactria to India, only this road is plausible."†

I shall defer the present discussion as to the origin of the Hindûs to some future opportunity, in the meantime, I may prove the origin of the word Arian or Iran which is so important to the present discussion.

From the sure testimonies of the Persians or Parsis Zand Avesta and by the concurring evidences of the present investigation it is proved that Airya Vaéju is the native land of their forefathers. These opinions are also corroborated by the Mosaic record which says that Elam, is the father of the Persians,‡ and Persia itself is designated Elam in the old Testament.§

Besides this it is proved from monumental relics that the Persians are the descendants of the Arian family, res-

* "Alterthumsnearkunde P. 27. P. 38. P. 418. P. 420."

† "Thus also Von Schlegel and others P. 456. P. 516."

‡ Sir Isaac Newton's, Chronological Table. P. 2. Pickering Races of Man. Page XXXVI.

§ Bible Cyclopaedia. Vol. II. P. 269.

pecting which a learned writer in the *Edinburgh Review* says as follows.

"But while this old name 'A'rya' fell afterwards into oblivion amongst the Hindus, it was more faithfully preserved by the Medians and Persians. In the *Zandavesta*, the first created and holy land is called *Airyanem Vaejo*, 'the source of the Arians,' and this name was in later times transferred to Media, a country too far west to be mentioned in the *Zandavesta*. Herodotus was told in his Oriental travels, that the Medians originally called themselves *Αριοι*, and Hellanicus gives *Aria* as a synonyme of Persia. And now, that we can read, thanks to the wonderful discoveries of Rawlinson, Burnouf, and Lassen, the same records from which Herodotus derived his information, we find Darius calling himself in the Cuneiform inscriptions 'a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian, and of Arian descent.' And when, after centuries of foreign invasions, and occupation, the Persian empire rose again to historical importance under the Sassanian sway, we find their Kings also calling themselves in the inscriptions, decyphered by De Sacy, 'kings of the Arian and un-Arian races,' (*Iran va Aniran.* *Αριανων και Αναριανων*)."

"This is the origin of the modern name of Iran. Again in the mountains of the Caucasus, we find an Arian race, the Ossetes, calling themselves *Iron*, and a tribe of *Ari* was known to Tacitus in the forests of Germany. Here then we have the faint echoes of a name, which once sounded through the valleys of the Himalaya; and it seems but natural, that Comparative Philology, which first succeeded in tracing the common origin of all the nations, ennumerated"

before, should have selected this old and venerable title for their common appellation.”*

From the above comparative investigation we must conclude that the Persians are the primitive children of the great Arian family, and besides this the same thing is proved from the Monumental relic of Darius according to the doctrine of the Zand Avesta. It is mentioned in the first Fargard of the Vendidad:

“Ormuzd said unto Sapetiman Zoroaster.”

“The first abode of happiness and abundance which I created without any mixture of impurity, was Airyanēm Vaeju.”†

This sacred testimony is firmly established by the unanimous opinions of the most learned Orientalists such as, Sir I. Newton, Sir W. Jones, Sir W. Ouseley, Sir J. Malcolm, Professor E. Burnouf, Professor C. Lassen, Sir H. Rawlinson, Professor Heeren and several others.

From the modern investigation after the primeval seat of mankind, it is established that Airya Vaeju is the primitive abode of the Iranian nation; in proof of this I beg to offer the following extracts from the best authorities.

“To the westward of the Indus, not far from Bamian, or from Balkh, in the ancient Bactria‡ according to Lassen and Burnouf, who have for the first time elicited an historical sense from the fragments of the Magian scriptures in the Vendidad and the Boundchesch§ was the country

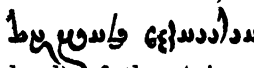
* Edinburgh Review of 1851 Vol. 94. P. 315 to 316.

† Vendidad 1st Fargard and See app. Note I.

‡ “Burnouf Commentaire, Annotations.”

§ “Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religions system der alten Baktrer, Meder, und Perser, oder des Zendvolks von J. G. Rhode. Frankf. 1820.

which the earliest traditions of the Persians point out as the primeval seat and paradise of their race. "Eerienne Veedjo, or the pure Iran, was the region of all delights, till Ahriman, the evil one, made in the river which watered Eerienne the serpent of Winter."*

"The traditions of their exodus and gradual colonization of Eastern Persia are preserved in the first Fargard of the Vendidad, where their primitive abode is named  Airyanēm Vaejo, "the source (or native land) of the Arians."†

"But while this old name Arya fell afterwards into oblivion amongst the Hindoos it was more faithfully preserved by the Medians and Persians. In the Zand Avesta the first created and holy land is called Airyanem Vaejo the source of the Arians, and this name was in latter time transferred to Media, a country too far west to be mentioned in the Zand Avesta."‡

"The traditions of this race preserve some very important particulars respecting this descent, their ancient abodes and their gradual dissemination through the land of Iran. These traditions are preserved in the beginning of the Vandidat, the most important, and it is probable, the most ancient of all their sacred books, the collection of which is styled the Zandavesta, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter. The two first chapters of this work, entitled Fargards, contain the above traditions not wrapped up in allegory, but so evidently historical as to demand nothing more than the application of geographical know-

* Prichard's *The Natural History of Man*; of 1843. P. 164-165.

† J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849 Vol. XI. Pt. I. P. 44.

‡ Edinburgh Review of 1851 Vol. 94. P. 315-316.

ledge to explain them.* See the Appendix to the following Volume.

The word "Hindu," is not to be found in any of the ancient Sanskrit works, or even in the Sanskrit Dictionary, and its derivative word Hindustan is nowhere mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit religious or geographical works of the Hindus.

The etymology of the word Hindu, it is vain to search for in Sanskrit works, as its root is derived from the Zand language.†

In support of this assertion, I beg to cite the following authorities.‡

"The Knowledge which the Greeks possessed respecting India, previous to the time of Alexander, was derived from the Persians. We do not find the name of Indian or Hindu in ancient Sanskrit works; but the country east of the Indus has been known under this name by the western nations of Asia from the earliest times. In the Zand and Pehlvi languages it is called Heando, and in the Hebrew Hoddu (הודו, Esther, I, 1), which is evidently the same as the Hend of the Persian and Arabic geographers."

The learned Maurice, with whom Wilkins coincides, has the following to offer on the subject.§

"Indoo, or Hindoo, he says, in Sanscreeet, signifies the moon, and that from this luminary and the sun, the Indian rajahs are fond of deducing their descent: he therefore contends, in opposition both to ancient and modern geo-

* Heeren's Historical Researches Asiatic Nations Vol. I. P. 209.

† Vendidad Fargard 1st the word Hapta Hindu, Seven Indies.

‡ Penny Cyclopaedia Vol. XII. P. 222.

§ Maurice's Indian Antiquities Vol. I. P. 218 to 219.

graphers, that the great river Indus takes its name from the people and not the people from the river. Mr. Halhed, however, on the contrary, asserts that Hindostan is a word entirely of Persian origin, equally unknown to the ancient and modern Sanscreeet; that the terms universally used for Hindostan, in the Sanscreeet language, are Bhertekhund, a word derived from Bherrut, one of the first Indian rajahs, whose name was adopted for that of the Kingdom, and khund, a continent or wide tract of land, and Jumboo-deep, compounded of Jumboo, a jackal, an animal remarkably abounding in this country, and deep, any large portion of land surrounded by water; and that it is only since the era of the Tartar government that they have assumed the name of Hindoo*, to distinguish them from their conquerors, the Mussulmen."†

Professor Heeren, after a careful investigation of the geographical contents of the two first Fargards of the Vendidad comes to the conclusion that,—“There can hardly be any doubt, that Hendo is the Zand form for Hind.”‡

M. Burnouf one of the most learned professors of the Sanskrit language, after a most minute inquiry into the analogical construction of the word Hindu says, that the word Hindu, is not an original Sanskrit word but of Zand origin, and in Sanskrit this word Sindhu answers the Zend word Hindo.§

The authorities above quoted are clearly of opinion that

* “See Mr. Halhed’s Preface to the Code of Gentoo laws P. 22 quarto; and dow, Vol. I. P. 32.”

† “Mr. Wilkins likewise affirms, that the terms Hindoo and Hindostan are not to be found in the Sanskrit Dictionary.”

‡ Heeren’s Historical Researches Vol. II. P. 315 Note 16.

§ Burnouf Yaçna. Tom. I P. CXIJ. CXX.

the Sanskrit language owes its existence to the Zand and that the former is only an offspring of the latter.

Professors Bopp, Lassen, and others are also of the same opinion, and hence I must conclude that the word Hindu is derived not from the Sanskrit but from the Zand language. India in former times was designated as Bharmavarta, and Bharattakhund; but there is no direct evidence to show which of the two was the real name.

The word Sindhu is unjustly compared by the European Orientalists with the Zand word Hindu. The Sanskrit Sindhu does not designate India proper or even stand in the juxtaposition to the Zand Hapta Hindu, "Seven Indies." The significations of the word Sindhu are the following.

"The ocean, the sea, the river and Indus or Sindh."*

In the Ramayana, Sindhu is mentioned as a place situated in the west; the Puranas, in the North.

It is impossible therefore to decide the geographical position of the country from Hindu literature. Professor Wilson is perfectly right in his following explanation of the subject.†

"The term Sindhu shews their position to have been upon the Indus apparently in the Punjab."

From the above etymological researches it does not appear that the Sanskrit Sindhu is the birth place of Hindus. No mention is ever made in the Hindu Shastras of Sindhu as the name of their mother country.‡

The Sanskrit word Sindhu is no doubt derived from the Persian word Sind converted into Sindh, and from that probably the word Hindu derived its name as the place of

* Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary P. 990.

† The Vishnu Purana by H. H. Wilson. Eng. Trans. Page 191 N. 82.

‡ See App. N. J.

the first Arie settlers. Not more than two years ago, I delivered two successive lectures before the Sir Jamsetji Jijibh   Philosophic Institute and proved at that time that both the words Hindu and Sindhu are derived from the Zand and Persian languages; and that the Hindus are merely Syathic settlers in India.* This proposition is firmly established by many learned men of the present day. Amongst them the learned Orientalist, Lassen, says as follows under the head, "Origin of the Indians".†

"We know, that in the code of laws, the Vindhya in the south is the frontier of Ary  varta, like the Himalaya in the North; the ocean as a limit in the West and East, permits us to conclude, that, at that time the mouths of the Sindhus and of the Ganga had been reached by Arie settlers."

The Sanskrit form Bahlika, is derived from the most ancient Persian word B  khter or Balkh. The term Bahlika, is wrapped up in allegorical forms in some of the Puranas. As to its etymological researches, no one has taken so much pains, as the learned orientalist Professor H. H. Wilson. After a most comprehensive review of the word Bahlika he says;—‡

"In some of the Puranas there seems to be an allusion to the Greek princes of Bactria, but the passages are obscure, and, in all probability, corrupt.§ These notices are of no great value, except that they confirm the antiquity of Balkh as the seat of an independent kingdom at some remote date,

* "Bombay Times" of April 20th 1855 P. 801.

† The Oriental Christian Spectator Vol. 9 No. 6 Page 216.

‡ Ariana Antiqua, Page 125. I bid. p. 125.

§ "Translation of the Vishnu Purana, Page 478 and note.

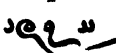
and tend to prove that it was connected in the relations of both peace and war with Hindustan."

The learned orientalist doubts that the word Balkh has its origin in the Persian language and adds "it is questionable how far this name is derived from an Asiatic original."*

Many of the learned men are also of the same opinion owing to the indefinite use of the terms by the old authors, eastern and western. We see that the geographical position of this country is well preserved in the Zand Avesta, according to the first Fargard of the Vendidad. The fourth place of delight created by Ormuzd was the pure Bakhdi, (near "More" and "Nesa") which signifies, "decorated" with lofty standards. Upon this point Professor Heeren says as follows:—

"From the books of the Zendavesta it would appear certain that they anciently possessed Aria and Bactriana, as far as the Oxus and Indus."†

Sir C. H. Rawlinson distinctly states as follows;—

"5 Lib VIIC 85; the Pactyans are a disputed race, but may, I think, be compared with the Zand  Baghdhi, (Bakhdha) which by common consent is identified with Bactria."‡

In the above paragraph the word Baghdhi, instead of Bakhdi, is most likely a typographical error.

The primal word is Bakhdi obtained by reducing the word from the original Zand form in the acc.—case, Bakhdem, into Bakhdha, which corresponds in Pehlvi with Balkh, in

* Ariana Antiqua Page 125.

† Heeren's Historical Researches Vol. I. Page 60. and Vol. II. P. 314.

‡ J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849 Vol. XI. Pt. I. P. 62 No. 5.

Persian with Bakhter, in Sanskrit with Bahlaki and in Greek with Baktia.

In this case it will be incumbent upon me to quote again Dr. Prichard's authority, in order to show that he quite agrees with the opinion of the learned Orientalists C. Lassen and E. Burnouf;—*

“To the westward of the Indus not far from Bamian, or from Balkh, is the ancient Bactria,† according to Lassen and Burnouf, who have for the first time elicited an historical sense from the fragments of the Magian Scriptures in the Vendidad and the Boundehesch.”‡

From the above quoted authorities, we have sufficient reason to believe, as also from the monumental relics of the great Behistun inscription in which Darius Vashtasp has preserved the true nomenclature of the original word Bactria, in the cuneiform inscription Bak'htarish,§ that the word is of Arian origin.

I must conclude therefore that this Sanskrit word has apparently a Zando-Persian origin, but in former times it was used independently by foreign nations according to their own articulation.

From the unanimous testimonies above cited, I must affirm that it belongs to the Arian family of languages, of which I consider Zand to be the primitive language.

From the etymological examination of these few Zand and Sanskrit words, it distinctly appears, that the Zand is

* Prichard's *Natural History of Man*, Page 164 to 165.

† “Burnouf Commentaire, Annotations.”

‡ “Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religions-system der alten Baktrer, Meder, und Perser, oder des Zendvolks, von J. G. Rhode Frankf. 1820.

§ J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. X Pt. I P. I.

an independent and primitive language, and that the Sanskrit is indebted to the Zand and the first Persian language for its existence.

If I take a more comprehensive review of the several Zand and Sanskrit words, as regards their philological construction, I shall trespass too much on your valuable time. This consideration prevents my entering more fully into the subject, and consequently I leave it for future discussion.

As promised in my last I must reply to the translator of Heeren's works and his dictator. They ask, "Is it not rather a corruption of Sanskrit Chandas or of the most usual appellation of the Vadas?"

I should think not. The Sanskrit word "Chandas" is not identical with the Arian word "Zand." The former in its literal sense signifies, Moon, and the latter the name of the character which the Parsee Scriptures represent; hence I may conclude that the word Zand is not a corruption of the Sanskrit word Chandas. I may here quote Mr. Curzon not in support of my argument, but to point out the fallacy of his opinion. He says* :—

"The word I conceive, is only a modified form of the Sanskrit अभ्यास्त (abhyasta) "learned by heart" or "committed to memory as a sacred precept," and seems to explain its connexion with زَنْد (Zhand) or छन्दा (Chhanda), the scriptures of Zaratusht."

Had the learned author taken an impartial review of both these words, he would not have fallen into the same error, as W. Von Schlegel. Could it be believed that a language, which is of great antiquity compared with the

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. XVI. Pt. I P. 173. 17. Note. 4.

Sanskrit, should derive its name from a language which had no existence at that period? It is pretty clear to an unbiassed mind that the word "Zand" is derived from the original word "Zantu"* and not from the Sanskrit word "Chhanda" as the translator and Mr. Curzon would persuade us to believe. It is more than I can explain, how it is believed by any one that a language so copious in its grammatical form should look to a foreign language for its designation.

The Sanskrit word "Chhanda" signifies "meaning" and "Abhyasta" "learned by heart:" that neither of these words answers in their Philological sense to the Zand Avesta, is quite evident from the following.

According to the universal belief of the Zoroastrians, Zand is the name of the character in which their scriptures are written, and Avesta that of the sacred language.

The word Zand is derived from the word Zuntu, and the word Pehlvi in like manner from Pehlu, the name of a country.

Besides the Zand Avesta has been handed down from generation to generation up to the present day from which it is quite evident that the Zoroastrians remnant in India are the followers of the ancient Zoroastrians.

The universal belief that the Arian language existed in Persia is well established by the most decided opinion of the learned Orientalists of our day. Amongst them Sir W. Jones is of opinion that,—“We may therefore hold this proposition firmly established, that Iran or Persia in its largest sense, was the true centre of population, of knowledge of languages and of arts”.†

* Vide P. 228. T. I. Burnouf Com. Sur le Yaçna, J. A. S. 1846. Mars P. 260. & J. A. S. 1846 Fèur P. 135-138.

† Asiatic Researches Vol. 2 P. 65.

This clearly establishes that the Zand as well as the first Persian language are far superior to the Sanskrit, and I do not see any reason why the Zand language should go to the Sanskrit for its name when the Persian language was near at hand, quite prepared and ready to assist her offspring. The opinions of Sir W. Jones quoted above are strongly corroborated by Troyer, Lassen, Heeren, and others. Let any one compare the opinions of Mr. Schlegel, and Mr. Curzon with those of Burnouf, Brokhaus Dr. Mitchell and others, and say which of them preponderate in favor of the Zand.

M. Burnouf arrives at the conclusion that the Zand roots are to be found in the Vadic Sanskrit.*

The eminent Professor Bopp is unwilling to receive the Zand as the mere dialect of the Sanskrit.†

Amongst our Sanskritic scholars one of the most able advocates for Sanskrit theology and literature, J. Muir, Esq., speaks as follows:—‡

“It is true that more may be said in favour of the hypothesis that the Zend has been derived from Sanskrit; but there are sufficient reasons for believing that Zend is a sister and not a daughter of Sanskrit; and consequently, that both have a common mother of a more primeval date.”

The most accomplished Scholar Wilson, professor of the Sanskrit language, has the following to offer on the subject:—

“Now, whatever doubts may be suggested by much that

* Bombay Quarterly Magazine & Review Vol. III. P. 438.

† Comparative Grammar Vol. I. P. XII.

‡ Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India. 1860. P. II. p. 275.

is given in the religious text books of the Parsees of India, as Zend, it is highly probable that their ancestors carried with them the genuine names of places, persons and things, and that all such terms, still preserved in their extant sacred writings, are genuine relics of their ancient nomenclature. We may, therefore admit that Airya or Airyana, are old Persian words, and the names of that region to which the Hindus extended the designation of Arya, which the coins of the Sassanian princes denominate Iran, and which the Greeks of Alexander's time understood by Arian.*

The Hagiographic books of the Persians are a subject on which a great diversity of opinions has been entertained by Oriental scholars. Amongst them Sir C. H. Rawlinson, believes that the Zand Avesta is as old at any rate as the Vishtaspa and he expresses the following valuable opinion on the subject:—

“That the Zand writings in their present state, are as old at any rate as the Sassanians, may be inferred from the testimony of Ammianus (lib. XXIII C 61) and Agathias (lib. I C. 24) who both connect Hystaspes (the Vēshtaspa of the Zend Avesta) with the establishment of the later Magisim. Ammianus does not question but that this Hystaspes was the father of the great Darius, but Agathias notices uncertainty of identification. In the Zend fragments also, it is interesting to observe that Vishtaspa is the latest Achaemenian kings whose name occurs, and hence may be derived an argument that the hymns and prayers really date from that epoch.”†

As to the date of the Zand Avesta the learned author

* *Ariana Antiqua* P. 122.

† J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1849 Vol. XI Pt. I P. 186 N. 4.

seems to have omitted it. But in his memoir on Cuneiform Inscriptions in the preliminary remarks, he observes as follows:—

“But notices of the fourth and fifth century B. C. are certainly deserving of consideration.”*

I believe the fourth century B. C. is the true era of the Zand Avesta. Occidentalists and Orientalists are unanimous on this point.†

From the following observations it will appear how far their opinions are corroborated.

Tradition and the Eastern Authors as well as the Zand. Avesta place Zoroaster as a prophet of the Persians into the reign of the Bactrian king Vistaspa, whom we call in modern Persian Gustasp, or Kistaspa, and the very striking evidence of the Greek authors who place Zoroaster in the reign of Hystaspes relates to no one than Vistaspes of the Zand Avesta. That Zoroaster lived in the time of Hystaspes is also proved by the fact that in the fourth century B. C. Plato, Aristotle, & Theopompus, showed a knowledge of Zoroaster's works.‡ We may, therefore, safely assign the date of the hymns and prayers from the reign of Vistaspa.

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1846 Vol. X Pt. I P. 42. No. 1.

† See app. Note. K.

‡ Vide P. 211 Note I P. 224 Note Vol. I The Dabistan or School of Manners 1843.

P. 55-58. Band I, No. 1. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft unter der verantwortlichen Redaction des Prof Dr. Hermann Brockhaus. Leipzig 1857. Mithra. Von Dr. F. Windischmann.

P. 167-268 Vol. XXXVIII. Mém. de l' Acad. des Inscript.

P. 337 Vol. II Trans. of the Literary Society of Bombay 1820.

Further in proof of this assertion, I beg to refer to the Eastern authorities who knew nothing of the Western Greek authors, but whose opinions fully coincide with them.

The well known Orientalist Mulla 'Feroz and Dustur Aspendyârjî Kâmdinjî of Broach established the epoch of Zoroaster as beginning four centuries B. C.*

This epoch most naturally receives synchronical confirmation from the Eastern as well as the Western Orientalists, whose opinions, I am fully inclined to subscribe to. I must therefore consider the dates of the hymns and prayers as synchronical with the Persian prophet Zoroaster and his Royal follower the Bactrian king Vistaspes or Hystaspes.†

I demonstrate this. I beg to lay before our society the following testimonies of the Greek authors, who were near contemporaries and flourished four or five centuries B. C. They attributed several works to Zoroaster.

Sir Henry Rawlinson thus expresses himself.

“The very elaborate vocalic organization of the Zend indicates, I think a comparatively recent era for the formation of its alphabet; while the disfigurement of authentic history affords an argument of equal weight against the possible antiquity of the composition of the Zend-Avesta. At the same time, there is strong evidence of the Magi having possessed from the remotest period, books which they ascribed to some proto-patriarch of the name of Zoroaster. These books are quoted by Plato (Pol., B. XXX.) They were in the hands of the disciples of Prodicus, who

* Resalae-Estush-Haud. Appendix of 1828, and A Historical Account of the Ancient Leap-Year of the Parsees. Published at Surat 1826.

† See app. Note L.

flourished in the fifth century B. C. (Clem, Alex, Edit, Sylburg, 304). They supplied Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes in his Grecian expedition, with materials for his work on Magic. They were expounded and indexed by Hermippus (Plin, lib XXX. Cap. I). I do not allude to the later extracts of Eusebius, Suidas, &c. or to the published Zoroastrian oracles, for their claims to antiquity are apocryphal; but notices of the fourth and fifth century B. C. are certainly deserving of consideration.”*

The well known Editor of the Zand-Avesta the German Orientalist John Frederic Kleuker, has extracted in his work several passages from the Greek Authorities, who have most ably proved the genuineness of the Zand-Avesta. In one of them the learned Mr. Troyer expresses his opinion on the subject as follows;—

“These works, parts of which only existed in England, were then for the first time translated into an European language, and published in French by Anquetil. Examined as monuments of an ancient religion and literature of the Persians, they have been differently appreciated by learned men, and their authenticity denied by some among whom the most conspicuous are, Sir W. Jones, Richardson, and Meiners, and defended by others, by none with more zeal than John Frederic Kleuker, who not only translated Anquetil’s Zand-Avesta into German, in three volumes, but in an appendix of two volumes (all in quarto) commented and discussed with great judgement, sagacity and erudition, all that relates to the Zand-books attributed to Zoroaster. Here follow, as shortly as possible, the principal results of his laborious investigations:—testimonies of the exis-

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1846 Vol. X Pt. I P. 42 N. I.

tence of works attributed to Zoroaster are found in Greek authors who lived before our era. It was in the sixth century B. C.* that the Persian religion and philosophy became known in Europe by Hostanes, the Archimagus who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. In the fourth century B. C. Plato, Aristotle, and Theopompus showed a knowledge of Zoroaster's works. In the third century B. C. Hermippus treats expressly of them as containing not less than 120,000 distichs. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, works attributed to Zoroaster are mentioned under different names by Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Pausanius, Pliny, and Dion Chrysostomus. St. Clement of Alexandria, in the third century was not unacquainted with them. Later the Gnostics made great use of the Oriental Cosmogony and psychology as derived from Zoroaster. The testimony of Eusebius establishes that, in the fourth century, there existed a collection of sacred works respecting the theology and religion of the Persians. It was mostly the liturgical part of them that was spread about, mixed with notions relative to the magical art. The empress Eudokia of the fifth, and Suidas, of the twelfth century, attribute to Zoroaster several books, four of which treat of nature, one of precious stones, and five of astrology and prognostics. So much and more can be gathered from Greek and Latin works about the writings of the Persian legislator."†

The language of the Cuneiform Inscriptions is the best primal evidence as to its being the sister language to the

* I must be excused here for contradicting the learned Orientalists, because the universal opinion is that Xerxes the son of Gustasp or Hystasp lived about four centuries B. C.

† Eng. Trans. Dabistan or School of Manners. Vol. I Page 223. Note

Zand and the Bactrian coins may be cited in support of this assertion.

The undermentioned authorities are I believe quite sufficient to establish the genuineness of the language.

"Between Agra and Etawah Colonel Tod, found at the same place a square coin which he ascribes to Meanander, the inscription on the reverse is, however in the Zand character (See Mr. Prinsep and Professor Wilson's Notes on Lieutenant Burnee's coins; and transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.)"

Further we observe that Buddhist topes bear the Zand character of which Sir Rawlinson and Mr. Vaux speak as follows:—

"The characters found in the Buddhist topes, the Zend, the Parthian—of which there are three varieties at least, and Pehlvi,—lapidary numismatic, and cursive, follow in direct chronological succession."†

With these authorities as to the character and language, I leave the question in the hands of the learned Orientalists to decide and to express their impartial opinions upon.

On the whole continent of Europe we see at present the knowledge of arts and sciences advanced. And at the same time we are surprised to see that Orientalists in general have also prosecuted the study of Oriental languages, and the middle of the eighteenth century is worth while being recorded as a new era in historical research on account of the Zand language and Zand Avesta.

* Penny Cyclopaedia Vol. III P. 253.

† J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. X Pt. I P. 43. Nineveh and Persepolis, by W. Vaux. P. 406. and Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities: by E. Thomas Esqer. of 1858. Vol. I. P. 129. 130. and Vol. II. P. 170. Proceedings of the Bombay Geographical Society. August. 1838. P. 65.

Thanks to the labors of Prof. F. Spiegel, of Erlangen and, Prof. Westergaard of Copenhagen, who are both busily engaged in editing the whole of the Zand Avesta with its translation, the former rendering it into German and English and the latter into the English language. Professor Spiegel, has completed his edition of the Vendidad, text and translation, accompanied by a careful and copious collection of various readings.

Professor Westergaard has duly completed the whole of the Zand text except a small portion, and has commenced to publish his translation with a Grammar and Dictionary of the Zand Avesta.

From their intimate knowledge of the Zand Avesta both of these learned Orientalists acknowledge the genuineness and authenticity of the Zand-Avesta in the preface to their respective works; but they only differ on principal points about the authorship of the Yaçná, that is the second part of Yaçna, a small portion of the Avesta, and the great portion of the Zand Avesta they attribute to Zoroaster.

Professor Spiegel, expresses his opinion that in the Yaçna we ~~have~~ two distinct dialects regarding which our learned member Reverend Dr. Mitchell speaks as follows after consulting Dr. Speigel.

"We are now prepared to attempt an arrangement of the different portions of the Zendavesta in the order of their antiquity. First we place the second part of the Yaçna, as separated in respect to the language of the Zendavesta, yet not composed by Zoroaster himself, since he is named in the third person, and indeed every thing intimates that neither he nor his disciple Gushtasp was alive."*

* J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IV P. 232 to 233. and See app. Note M.

In consideration of the above question, suppose, I admit that the first and second parts of Yaçna differ in their language, it does not prove that the second part is not composed by Zoroaster; I know that Zoroaster's name is used in the sense of the third person; but it is no wonder. We see that European writers in the preface of their works name themselves in the sense of a third person; yet we cannot doubt the authorship of the work; so in the second part of Yaçna and in some of the places of the Zand Avesta Zoroaster's name appears in the third person, the reason is that the benediction is offered by his followers in the sense of a Mediator between Ilormuzd and the Zoroastrians, so he is addressed in the sense of a third person by himself, as a prophet.

I hope from the above explanation that my learned friends, Dr. Speigel and Dr. Mitchell will entirely agree with me on this point.

The learned Professor Westergaard's opinion is supported by my friend the Reverend Dr. Wilson. The learned Professor says;—

“In the same manner as the hymns of the Vedas and the songs of the Edda, the several portions of the Zend-avesta must have sprung from different bards and teachers, who represented their particular subject, each according to his own view.”*

As to the above assertion I beg to say that both of my learned friends are mistaken in this supposition. In my foregoing remarks, I have already pointed out that Professor Speigel, and the Revd. Dr. Mitchell took the second part of Yaçna, and said that Zoroaster appears as a third

* Westergaard's Zendavesta. Vol. I Preface P. 16.

person, for which, I have already given the reason which I think is quite sufficient; but I cannot agree with the learned Orientalists "that several portions of the Zendavesta must have sprung from different bards and teachers."

The idea about the Zand Avesta, I do not see any valid reason to believe. We see several portions of the Avesta in the forms of hymns; in which the language slightly differs from the largest parts of the Avesta; but their grammatical analysis shows at once that the Zand Avesta is the production of Zoroaster alone, except the general tenor of the language. However, I admit there is a slight difference between the first and second part of the Yaçna, about which the learned Orientalist says:—

"The language of Zendavesta belongs, as do the writings, to Northern Iran, and between its two dialects there is a difference not so much of time as of place; and I should believe we may refer the harsher dialect of the Yaçna to a rough mountainous country, and the other and softer to the milder clime of the plains. As this language in its two dialects gives us the earliest representatives of the ~~northwestern~~ branch, so does the language of Darius as to the western branch of the Iranian class. Their relationship must, therefore, be compared to that for instance between Icelandic and Gothic, Polish and Russian, which in the same manner belong to distinct branches of the same classes; but as the Iranian tongues are of an age many centuries earlier, the chasm between them has not yet widened so far as is the case with the others."*

From this we have no reason to say that Zoroaster is

* Westergaard's Zendavesta Vol. I P. 16 Note 2.

not the author of the Zand Avesta. It is indeed a direct evidence that the whole of Zand Avesta was written by Zoroaster himself, about four centuries B. C. This opinion is not simply mentioned by Oriental writers; but it is repeatedly alluded to by Grecian writers. From these facts I confidently believe that Zoroaster composed the Zand Avesta.

"It is the almost universal opinion promulgated by Hyde,⁸ and defended by the editor of the Zendavesta,⁹ that the prophet was contemporary with Darius Hystaspis, and that consequently his laws were promulgated under the empire of the Persians."*

This opinion is adopted on the continent of Europe by many learned men. They are unanimous that the capital of Bactria is the primitive seat of Zoroaster and the Zand Avesta regarding which the learned Orientalist acknowledges himself as follows;—

"Tradition from the earliest times attaches Zoroaster to Bactria, and I believe all now agree in considering that country the native home of the Zendavesta."†

It is the almost universal opinion of the Orientalists and Occidentalists that the prophetic doctrine of Zoroaster was first promulgated in Bactria, and was enthusiastically adopted by the ancient Persians, Medians, Soghdians, and Bactrians under the reign of king Vistasp or Hystasp; that the Hagiographic books of the Zand Avesta were composed by the Persian Prophet Zoroaster in Bactria; and that the

8 "Hyde, De Relig. Veter. Persar. P. 303. 312-335."

9 "Zendavesta of Kleuker, Appendix i. l. etc; c f p. 327, ect."

* Heeren's Historical Researches Vol. I P. 237.

† Westergaard's Zand Avesta Vol. I Preface P. 16.

Zand stands as a primitive Hagiographical language of the Anti-Bakhdi or Balkh.

These views the most learned Orientalists and Classical writers of modern times unanimously subscribe to. I beg to quote the following authorities in support of my assertion;—

Heeren observes;—

“From Zoroaster himself we can only learn that it took place during the Bactrio-Median empire, under a king named Gustasp, of the dynasty of Keanides.”*

Muhleisen says;—

“According to the Zendavesta, Zoroaster, or Zardhust, appeared during the reign of the Bactrian king Vistaspa, which was changed at a later period into Khistasp or Gustasp. It has been made plain from Grecian authors, as well as from inscriptions which have lately been discovered in Persia itself, that Gustasp is no other than Hystaspes, the father of the Persian king Darius.”†

Professor Wilson has the following to offer on the subject;—

“Lohrasp was entitled Balkhi, because the greatest part of his reign was passed in that region.² The reign of his son and successor Gushtasp was signalized by the reformation, & possibly the institution, of the Magian religion, by Zerdhust or Zoroaster, whom classical and oriental writers concur in designating as a native of Bactria or Balkh.”‡

* Heeren's *His. Res.* Vol. I P. 240.

† *Genuine & Spurious Religion* Vol. I P. 311.

² “*Mirkhond*, p. 272.”

‡ *Ariana Antiqua* P. 124. “3 Zerdusti seu Zoroastris vita: Hyde. *Religis veterum Persarum*, P. 312. Zerdusht Nama; cited by Du Peron: Vide Zoroastre. *Zendavesta*, vol. i. part 2. Also a memoir by the same in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Vol. xxxvii. The latter is translated and inserted by Mr. Shea in his translation of *Mirkhond*, P. 274.”

Mr. C. Ravenshaw says;—

“Indeed it was at Balkh, the capital of king Gushtasp, that Zoroaster is said to have promulgated his doctrine about 500. B. C.”*

A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* delivers himself as follows on the subject;—

“With regard to the place where the Zend Avesta was composed, Burnouf contended that it was Bactria, not Persia. The opinion of so learned a man, generally adopted as it has been by other scholars, deserves the deepest respect. Tradition, too, has connected Zoroaster with that country,—tradition both classical and oriental, generally speaks of him as the “Bactrian sage.”†

I have already discussed the question regarding the native land of the Zand Avesta, and proved that there is no doubt Zoroaster is the only Hagiographer of the Zand-Avesta with the concurrent testimonies of the different authors.

Taking into consideration the above authorities I must infer that it is emphatically proved that the ~~first rites~~ of Zoroaster's Zand Avesta took place in Bactria and that the Zand was used as the Hieratic language in the vast Empire of Iran.

I beg to submit the following observations regarding the Pehlvi language.

Some of the Continental Orientalists of the present day are of opinion that the Pehlvi language has been forged

* J. R. A. S. G. & I. Vol. XVI. Pt. I P. 112. “I. Niebuhr, in his Lectures, says that Gushtasp cannot be identified with Darius Hystaspes, so this date is very uncertain. Heeren thinks the date should be 800 B. C. if not earlier—Vol. I, P. 241.” See above P. 59–60.

† *Bombay Quarterly Review* Vol. IV Page 59.

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2 “*Mirkhond*, p. 272.”

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+ *Bombay Quarterly Review* Vol. IV Page 59.

by the Parsis of India. If I grant this for the sake of argument a question naturally arises,—it is but about twelve hundred years since the Parsis left their fatherland for India, how are we to account then for the Pehlvi inscriptions, that are to be met with on blocks of stones and coins in Persia? It is widely known that these blocks of Hajî-âbâd, Naksh-i-Rustam, Naksh-i-Rajab and Kirmanshah, as well as Pehlvi coins existed in Persia in the time of Sassanian Dynasty and prior to the existence of all the Parsis of India. This fact at once leads us to the conclusion that the Pehlvi language existed in Persia as a popular language long before the emigration of the Parsis from that place and even prior to the time when the kings of the Sassanian Dynasty reigned in Persia. That the bilingual Pehlvi inscriptions of Hajî-âbâd with translations in anti-pehlvi can be found on the blocks of stone is another strong proof of the genuineness of the Pehlvi language. The European writers consider this anti-pehlvi to be the Parthian or Chaldian language, but I beg to differ from them. My humble conviction is ~~that~~ it is no other than the Pehlvi language used by the Persians in very remote times. The Parthians or Chaldians are descendants of the ancient Persians, and it is no wonder that the former spoke the language of the latter.

Learned Orientalists after perusing some imperfect Pehlvi works, come at once, without any consideration, to the conclusion, that the language is a forged one; but before they express this opinion, I would advise them to compare the language by the law of Grammar with some other Arian family of languages, as this is the only mode of testing the genuineness of a language.*

* Dhunjibhâ's Huzvarash Grammar P. 8-17.

Every one will admit that the continental orientalists are the best grammarians. It is a fact nevertheless that some of them have pronounced their unreserved opinions against the authenticity of the Pehlvi language without waiting to see if this opinion will stand an examination by the light of comparative philology.

Pehlvi* is a name given to a spoken language of Pehlu, a city situated in Persia. The people residing in this city were called Pehlvars or warriors. In former times the Pehlvi language was used in departments connected with the state, and by warriors, kings and emperors. Many instances can be cited in support of this assertion. The hills of Hâjî-âbâd, Naksh-i-Rustam, and Kirmanshah, situated near Tukhtê-Jamshêd or Persepolis, contain many blocks of stones, bearing Pehlvi inscriptions. These inscriptions can also be seen on coins which derived their existence in the reign of Ardêshâr Bâbêgân.

Hence it cannot be questioned that the Pehlvi language was in use in ancient times. Some of the Orientalists by comparing the Pehlvi on blocks of stones and coins with the Pehlvi written in books perceived that ~~they~~ widely differ from each other and consequently come to the conclusion, that the Pehlvi language of the books has derived its source from the Persian. My researches however bring me to quite a different conclusion. I admit that the two languages differ slightly from each other; but that it does not follow that the Pehlvi language as written in books owes its existence to the Persian. The Pehlvi on blocks of

* Visnu Purana Eng. Trans. by H. H. Wilson, of 1840, Page 189 Note. No. 61 & 195. Note. No. 158.

J. B. B. R. A. S. of 1853 Vol. V. No. 18 P. 42.

stones is known by the name of common Pehlvi, while that of the book is styled Huzvarash, or proper Pehlvi. One was used as the medium of explaining the religious books, while the other as a spoken language, just as the Sanskrit language of the Vade Shâsters, and the common Sanskrit for general use among the Hindus. In former times every language of the Persians was divided into two parts, one for general use, while the other for religious books. Such was the case with the Persian, the Zand, the Pehlvi, and every other language which belonged to the Arians.

Some of the learned men entertain a doubt regarding the genuineness of the Pehlvi language. Their reason is simply this, that Pehlvi inscriptions and the Pehlvi version of the Zand Avesta differ from each other.

I admit that it differs in some instances in its grammatical forms, but I have compared several words of both the languages and found Huzvarash roots in the Pehlvi inscriptions.* This shows at once the genuineness of the language, and I must therefore conclude that the one is the Hieratic and the other the official language of the country, the latter I may safely say was also the spoken language in many parts of Persia.

According to the general belief of the modern Persians, the Pehlvi language is still used as a spoken language in Saristan and in Khurdistan. This seems to be very probable because Sir C. H. Rawlinson acknowledges in his travels that in the village of Dizmar people speak the Pehlvi language.† And also in the province of Gustasfi.‡

* Refer to the preceding pages for the English transcript and verbal translation of the bilingual Pehlvi inscriptions of Hâjt-âbâd.

† J. R. G. S. of London 1839 Vol. IX Pt. 1. P. 109 Note.

‡ Ouseley's Travels in the East Vol III. P. 426 Note (7)

From the above opinion we may admit Pehlvi as a vernacular dialect of the past age of the Sassanian.

The Numismatic Pehlvi of the coins, gems, etc., of the Sassanian times shows the popularity of the language.

Further I see that my learned friend Sir. Rawlinson says that before the first emigrants of the Zoroastrian faith went to India, we see the specimen of the Pehlevi characters upon the copper Sasanam, which they carried with them.

The following is the passage in which the learned Orientalist expresses his firm belief to that effect.

"The short legend again, written on the breast of the king's horse, on the great tablet at Shápúr, appears to have been engraved while the Pehlevi was then in a state of transition, and I have impressions of several gems which still further facilitate a connexion between the modern and ancient characters. In the names of the Parsi witnesses attached to the copper Sasanam, which is at present in possession of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, we have probably an interesting specimen of the Pehlevi character, as it was carried to India, by the first emigrants of the Zoroastrian faith, when they fled from the Arab army on its approach to Abilah, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and sought refuge at *Sindán*, a town on the coast of Guzerat, well known in Arab geography, but which, without this direct testimony of Hamzeh Isfaháni, we should have some difficulty in recognizing in the St. John of the modern maps."*

From the above and several other authorities there is a strong evidence for the existence of the Pehlevi in

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & L. of 1846, Vol. X. Pt. I. P. 44. Note 2.

Persia, and before the Zoroastrian first came to India.

It is well known to our society that two years ago, I published in the Guzratî language the Elements of Pehlvi grammar. In its preface I have already discussed the authenticity of the Huzvarash or proper Pehlvi language at some length and proved the existence and authenticity of the language and divided it into three principal classes, viz :—Cursive, Lapidary, and Numismatic,* and after a careful comparison I perceived that the Huzvarash roots are to be met with in all of them.

I am therefore strongly of opinion that the form of the language has no doubt derived its origin from the Anti-Arian language.

Besides this I have compared the Huzvarash language with the Semitic family of languages and can say that the Huzvarash language is not only an independent language, but in its Philological construction, it bears a superiority over the Semitic language. I will enter upon this subject if time permits me to satisfy at some length the literary world, as to the true primitive claim of an Arian nations over the Semitic.

My venerable friend Mr. Romer, after perusing the preface of my Pehlvi grammar says;

“I have examined it attentively, I do not find that it contains anything to induce me to alter my opinion I formed on full reflection long ago on the Pehlavi of the Parsi Books.”

I beg leave to ask each learned Orientalist to bring forward the ground on which he rests his opinion that I

* The Bombay Quarterly Review Vol. IV. P. 55 and Dhunjibhâ's Huzvarash Grammar preface, P. 5, 8.

may be able to discuss the very point on which he differs from me; the learned gentleman would do well to advance reasons for disbelieving the authorities I have above cited.

The learned Orientalist Dr. Spiegel in his elaborate discussion in the introduction to his Huzvarash Grammer Says.*

"Accordingly I distinguish two meanings in the word Pehlevî, namely a) in a stricter sense the dialect of the country called Fehleh; b) the dialect etc. of the Pehlvan and in a wider sense the language of the entire pre-islamic time.,†

A Chodzko Esqer, after a most laborious investigation mentions as follows.‡

"Be that as it may, it is certain that the Ghilanis give to their own songs the name of Pálevis, and that the two princes of the Persian Parnassus apply the same denomination to their Compositions."

E. Thomas, Esq., in his valuable dissertation on the Numismatic Pehlevî Coins expresses his opinion in the following words.§

"And especially with reference to the doubts which are being raised as to the authenticity of the Zoroastrian languages, I would point to the significant fact implied in the extensively prevailing use of the Pehlvi character, as *prima facie* evidence of the existence and currency of the language itself, or of its mere dialectic modifications."

In conclusion I must confess that in treating this interesting subject, I cannot stand on vantage ground, but on

* Grammatik der Huzvâreschsprache von Fr. Spiegel. Wien. 1856. Einleitung. P. 20.

† See app. Note N.

‡ Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia, London. 1842. P. 454.

§ J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. XIII. Pt. 2. P. 374. and Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities of 1858 Vol. II. P. 163. Note I.

the contrary my position in handling this important question must be rather precarious and liable to unreasonable attacks from prejudiced partizans, who entertain notions, contrary to those I have according to my humble abilities, endeavoured to disseminate. The foreign testimonies I have used in support of my arguments might allure any of my opponents to use the other subjects in the works of those learned authors against me; but the fair and disinterested critic will at once see and feel satisfied that I am perfectly justified in adducing proofs from the undeniable authorities of those learned Orientalists wherever their views and sentiments tended to support and prove my arguments before the literary fraternity.

We see the writer of the "Calcutta Review," has through ignorance made a very bold attack upon the Zoroastrians as follows;—†

"It is to be regretted that none of the Parsis in India are so learned in their own language and literature as to defend them against the attacks that have been made upon them, involving as they do in their truth the baselessness of their whole religious system and beliefs."

Without attempting any refutation of the above remarks, I would simply refer the writer to the following works:—

Introduction to the Grammar of the Pooshtoo Language by Capt. Raverty P. 3. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society—Vol. V. Pages 507 & 695 and Vol. IV. P. 235. 469, 470. The Bombay Quarterly Review Vol. IV. Page 55. The Parsees, Their History, Manners, Customs. by Mr. Dosabhoy Framji P. 219. The Parsi Friend, September, 1855. Vol. I. No. 24, Pages. 369 to 371.

† Calcutta Review for 1857—July to December, Vol. XXX. No. LVIII. Page 248.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE BILINGUAL PEHLEVI INSCRIPTIONS
OF HAJI-ABAD NEAR NAKSH-I-RUSTAM.

I first deciphered this inscription from Sir Ker Porter's and Leut. Col. Vans Kennedy's Copy,* not with the object of satisfying my own curiosity, but simply with a view to collect sufficient materials to support my observations on the Pehlvi alphabets, so as to enable me to point out the true value of the characters and to identify the original names, titles and other words.

My further object in deciphering this inscription was to give it a place in the preface of my Zand Dictionary, with other Pehlvi inscriptions already deciphered by continental Orientalists with a view to publish the Pehlvi alphabets with observations on the Lapidary, Cursive, and Numismatic characters according to the different forms of their alphabets to assist Pehlvi Scholars to decipher any of the Pehlvi writings on Tablets, Manuscripts or coins.*

Further, I beg to mention that the Bilingual Pehlvi inscriptions of Hâjî-âbâd, as copied by Sir Ker Porter, from the original tablet are in my opinion in some respects very incorrect. I think I shall be able to establish the following facts when I shall have made a comparison of Professor Westergaard's fac-similes with those of Sir Ker Porter's inscriptions.† At the same time it appears to me that the latter copy is a very imperfect one; in this case I have already expressed my opinion before the Society and I now beg to refer the intelligent reader to the following remarks:—‡

* See Inscription, Plate I.

† See Inscription, Plate. II.

‡ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V. P. 393. 394.

"With reference to the copies of the Haj-i-Abad inscription mentioned, (P. 374) the author, Dhunjibhoy Framji, Esq., states that after having carefully re-examined them, he thinks that the copy which appears in Professor Westergaard's edition of the Bundhesh has been most carefully taken from the original, and that it is only inaccurate in a few characters; that the Sassanian lapidary Pehlvi-inscription in Sir Ker Porter's Travels is also in some respects incorrect, and the Parthian or most ancient Phlivi inscription appears to be still more so, which may have arisen from the difficulty with which it was obtained, for Sir Ker Porter states—'I copied them with all the accuracy in my power, being much impeded by the height and darkness of their position. One portion of the three upper lines I could not make out in the least.' Between Sir Ker Porter's and Professor Westergaard's Pehlivi inscription, the author had discovered about thirty characters which differed from each other in their respective words; but as amongst these there were a few homogeneous ones, the difference in the decipherings was of no great consequence.

"When Mr. Dhunjibhoy Framji first deciphered and translated this inscription from Sir Ker Porter's copy, he entertained doubts respecting the accuracy of the translation, and therefore, as far as lay in his power, supplied a list of *errata* deduced from the analogy, etymology, and comparative philology of the words contained in them; he now begged leave to lay before the Society a translation of the inscription from Professor Westergaard's copy, which, when compared with his first deciphering, would be found to differ only in a few words, the explanations of which differences were in the notes appended to his translation."

"In conclusion, the author states, that as yet he does not feel quite competent to place before orientalists a satisfactory translation of this inscription, because he is still doubtful of the orthographical and interchangeable value of some of the characters, which he will be better able to explain in the preface to his Zand Dictionary, where he hopes to publish the Pehlivi alphabets, with observations on their lapidary, cursive, and numismatic forms, to facilitate future investigations in the deciphering of this character."

From the above explanation the reader will observe that the basis of my translation solely depends on the authorities of the Arian family of languages, and in some respects of the Semitic languages.

THE
PEHLVI INSCRIPTION
OF
HAJI-ABAD NEAR NAKSH-I-RUSTAM.
FROM
Major GENERAL VANS KENNEDY'S
WORK ON THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGES
AND
Sir Ker PORTER'S TRAVELS
• **Vol. I. P. 513. P. XV.**



PEHLVI INSC

Transcr

1. *Tāhāhī?*1) *va . zakī*
Pure and just
2. *malkā . airan . va .*
the king of Airan and
3. *buī?*5) . *mazdimal?*
son worshipper of Orm
4. *manu . chakīruī?*9)
celostially descended
5. *amat . vanī . hanīa*
time well I am
6. *va . bubitan . shatr*
and ministers comm

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION AT HAJI-ABAD.

I am the just and pure worshipper of Ormazd, the excellent Shâpuri (Shapur) King of Kings, of Airan and Aniran*,

* The significations of the words *Airân* and *An-Irân*, according to the opinion of Sir Ker Porter, the learned Mullâ Firoze has explained as follows:—


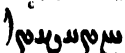
“The word *An-Iran* is supposed to mean all beyond Irân, that is, the Persian empire's conquered dependencies, or, in more Asiatic language, the whole world. Moullah Firoze, a learned Parsee of Bombay, explains the name of *Airan* (Iran) to be derived from that of Believer; and that *Aniran*, meaning Unbelievers; the two terms amount to the same thing as the foregoing title, and proclaims the Persian monarch to be sole governor of the habitable globe.” Vide Sir R. Ker Porter's *Travels*, Vol. ii. p. 189, and *Journal Asiatique*, Quatrieme Serie, Tome. I. p. 40 Note I.

On the other hand Sir John Malcolm has given, in his valuable work, the following explanations of the same words:—

“I gave this inscription to Moullah Firoze, a learned priest of the Parsees at Bombay, and he assured me that the translation of De Sacy was correct. Firoze explained the word *An-Iran* to mean unbelievers; Eer, he informed me, was a Pehlivi word, which signified believer; Eeran was its plural: in Pehlivi the *a* or *an* prefixed, is a privative, as in Greek and Sanscrit; and, consequently, *An-Iran* meant unbelievers. The King of Eeran and An-Eeran he interpreted to mean King of Believers and Unbelievers, or of Persia and other nations. It was, he said, a title like king of the world. This, however, is, like all conjectures founded on etymology, very uncertain.” (Vide Vol. I. p. 258, Note *)

The above opinion, as remarked by Sir John Malcolm, is “like all conjectures founded on etymology, very uncertain”; but I believe that from the most strenuous research I could make out that the opinion expressed by the learned Mulla Firoze is quite correct according to the etymological construction of the word *Airya*, which is properly the name of the province *Aria* (*Iran*) or “believer” from its Zand origin. Vide the first Chapter or Fargard of Vendidad where we find 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 *Airyânem* in the Accusative case. I shall now bring forward numerous examples to shew that

† From the monumental relics of the celebrated Persian king Artaxerxes and from the Oriental and Occidental historical accounts handed down to us, we believe that Artaxerxes was the great reformer and restorer of the Zoroastrian religion.

It is now quite evident that we are forced to affirm, on most sufficient grounds that the primitive Doctrine of Zoroaster existed formerly in Persia even before this celebrated king. The true denominative of this king is variously written by various authors as in the Modern Pehlvi,  *Ardashir*, or  *Hutastār*, the Sassanian, *Artāhshtār*; in the most Ancient Pehlvi, *Artāhshtār*; in Cuneiform, *Artakhshtār*; it is rendered in Greek *Artaxerxes*; in Hebrew and Chaldee, *Artachshasta*; and in modern Persian, *Ardeshtir*. Besides, we see the names of this king on the several Coins of the Sassanian dynasty.

King of Kings of Aíran the celestially descended from Yazdan (God), (and) grand-son of the excellent Pápáki (Bâbê-gân) King. I am the wellwisher of the good time. Because the Officers, Ministers and Commanders saw me (for) many years past ruling (according to) the just law, and the great well-wisher who confers good prosperity upon all well-thriving virtuous persons, I have bestowed upon (them) the praises of royal-favour. O Ormazd thou hast bestowed the most praise upon me graciously in this manner. O that, I may give (what is) most excellent (to them.)

On this account the wicked Patiâki was grieved (by the grace) of the excellent Divine Ormazd. I bestow upon* the virtuous creatures, and pious men of pure desire, the path of the happiness of heaven. Also in like manner thou hast bestowed virtue on us, from the good path, therefore the obtaining of all knowledge. I bestow it (on those) who desire it; and also the excellent gift in that manner bestowed is given to me by that Divine Ormazd.

* The word *Brâ*, I think, required a few more letters to be added to the primitive root "*Brâ*," as it appears that those letters have probably been lost from the tablet by decay. In the meantime therefore I have used the word "*Bnd*" simply.

THE
PEHLVI INSCRIPTION
OF
HAJIABAD NEAR NAKSH-I-RUSTAM.
FROM
Prof. WESTERGAARD'S
BUNDEHESH
MARK A.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE PEHLVI
INSCRIPTION, OF HAJI-ABAD NEAR
NAKSH-I-RUSTAM.

I am the just and zealous worshipper of Ormazd, the divine Shâpur, king of kings, of Airan and Aniran, celestially descended from God, the son of the worshipper of Ormazd, the divine Artaxerxes, king of kings of Airan, the celestially descended from God, and grandson of the divine Bâbégân king, who is^o the well-wisher of the good time. Because the Officers, Ministers and Commanders saw me ruling (according to) the just and pure law, and the great well wisher who confers good prosperity upon....all well-thriving virtuous-persons.

I have bestowed upon (them) the praises of royal-favour. O Ormazd, thou hast bestowed the most praise upon me graciously in this manner. O that I may give what is most excellent (to them). (On this account) the wicked Patîâkî was grieved; (by the grace) of the excellent Divine Ormazd, I bestow upon the virtuous and pious-men of pure desire the path of the happiness of heaven. Also in like manner thou hast bestowed all virtue and law from the good path; therefore the obtaining of all knowledge I bestow on (those) who desire it, also the excellent gift in that manner, bestowed (is given) on him by that Divine Ormazd.

NOTES ON THE PEHLVI INSCRIPTION OF HAJI- ABAD NEAR NAKSH-I-RUSTAM.

Number 1st. In the first line, I have deciphered the first word *Tahrâhî*, according to the system of M. De Sacy and Sir W. Ouseley. The second character of the word above alluded to is identified with > *h*, in the word *bahî*, by these two learned Orientalists. I have therefore used the orthographical value in my decipherment as *h*. I have moreover sufficient proofs as to its etymological construction and signification.

The monosyllabic word *Tahr* agrees, in the kindred languages, with the Hebrew *טהר*, or *טָהַר*, and in Arabic *طهر*, which signifies pure or clean, and the second etymon is merely prolonged into *â* for the suffix *hî* of the nominative case; and therefore I have considered the word *Tahrâhî* as the nominative singular of an adjective of the masculine gender, qualifying the proper noun *Mazdisan*.

According to recent investigations, it appears to me that the second character > *h* is identified with > *g* in its orthographical value by a few of the Continental Orientalists; and they are inclined to use the same character in the word *bagi* or *baga*. Therefore we may have a reason at present for reading the original word *Tagrâhî* instead of *Tahrâhî*.

The word *Tagrâhî* is composed of *Tag* which in modern Pehlvi signifies "stronger" or "hero" and the word *râhî* signifies "way" or "path". Therefore, the verbal translation will be "heroic-path" that is "zealous" in an adjective form masc, nom, sing, used as an epithet before the noun

Mazdisan. These compounded words signify "The zealous worshipper of Ormazd".

Suppose we admit that the character *g* instead of *h* suits its phonetic value, then on the other hand, we see it does not suit the purport of several other words, because this character is used in the Inscription of Hâjî-Abâd oftener than six or seven times. I shall endeavour to show my principal reasons hereafter for rejecting this value etc.

Further, if we compare the word *Tagrâhê*, with the modern Persian *تغرا* *toghra*, we see that it signifies "The imperial signature, an order" &c. (see Richardson's Persian, Arabic and English Dictionary P. 616, and also the *Burhânê kâtê*) ; but this signification does not answer the purport of the inscription, and if we read this word again according to the modern Pehlvi it will be *tugra* which signifies "sense" and the *hi* of the original word must be considered as merely a suffix.

The signification of the above word has no connection whatever with the passage of the Inscription; therefore I have sufficient ground for an optional employment of it; because we always use in modern Pehlvi some of the characters as homogenous letters, thus e. g. *g* has always three different orthographical values as *K*, *G*, and *H*. viz:—*گ* *Kâmahê* "desire"....*ت* *Tage* "powerful,".....*ا* *Awâke* "purity," etc., and is freely allowed to be employed optionally by the readers, to enable them properly to understand the original passages.

From the above examples, it is quite evident that the character is substituted for three different orthographical values, therefore if we adopt the same system in Sassanian lapidary Pehlvi, it will be of no great consequence. Besides

this, I beg to refer the readers, for more and fuller information, to the note on the word *bahi* or *bagi* in succeeding pages.

No. 2nd. In line first, the second word, *zakî*, signifying "just" I first deciphered from Sir Ker Porter's copy; but after a minute comparison of the same with Professor Westergaard's copy, I am of opinion that the letters bear three different ways of decipherment as *zakî*, *vanî*, and *zanî*. These words occur four times in the inscription; but the orthography is a subject of doubt; and we must therefore adopt an arbitrary mode of decipherment from the respective significations of the three words just mentioned which alone will lead to the proper understanding of the original passage.

Regarding the orthographical value of the character *l* in the whole inscription, strong evidence exists of its interchangeable orthography. This simple character *l* always confuses the readers of the modern Pehlvi language, as well as in Sassanian Bilingual Pehlvi Inscriptions of Hâjî-Abâd and others. At present the character serves the orthographical value of three letters *z*, *n*, and *v*, I have used it absolutely as *v*, as in the word *vanî*, signifying "just" (see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland for 1852 Vol. xiii. Pt. 2. P. 402. Note 3, and also Zeitschrift der Deutschen Mongenlandischen Gesellschaft Leipzig 1850, Vol. IV. P. 96.)

No. 3rd. The word *bahi* signifying "excellent" we see used already three times in the inscription as an epithet before proper nouns.

In the first line, I first deciphered the fifth word *bahî* on the authority of M. de Sacy and Sir W. Ouseley; but at present the continental orientalists are of opinion that the word may be read as an epithet *baga* or *bagi* instead of *bahi*,

which signifies "God" or "Divine." If we propose to read it *baga* or *bagi*, signifying "Divine," then it is impossible according to the doctrine of the Zand-Avestâ to apply this epithet to any human being in common with Omnipotence and Prophet. The word *bahi* is popular as an epithet applied to the followers of Zoroaster as *bahi-din* signifying "of the excellent religion"; therefore it appears to me that if we read it *bahî* instead of *bagi*, it will be much better.

I am, however, not obstinate. If I meet with any sufficient reason for reading the word *bagi* I shall do so without any hesitation.


Let us now review some examples in order to give the true reading of the word *𐬠𐬀*; we see an opinion is strongly and unanimously expressed by continental Orientalists to read it *bagi* "Divine."


From M. de Longperier's *Essai Sur les Medailles des rois Perses* (of 1840), it appears to me the learned Orientalist prefers to read it as *bagi* "Divine" instead of *bahî*, but I cannot exactly tell on what principle his opinion is founded when writing this note. I am really sorry, for not having the work in my hands, I am unable to say any thing more on the subject.*

As far as the identification of this word *𐬠𐬀* *bagi*, is concerned, the learned Sir C. Rawlinson is of the following opinion:—


"2. This identification is of much importance, for it enables us to read the epithet *𐬠𐬀*, which answers to the *θεος*, *Baga* instead of *Beh*; and it is singular that De


* Vide P. 5. Notice on certain unpublished coins of the Sassanidæ by E. Thomas, Esq.

Sacy with his admirable critique and extensive learning should have overlooked it. Very possibly the Zend  may be a mere modification of the Sassanian character.*

With the exception of the Zand  I am quite prepared to concur in the opinion of the learned Orientalist, with a few additional proofs for the purpose of affording some elucidation of this very *important* identification.

We see already that the word *bagi* is often used with its interpretation to convey the sense of "divine," in the Bilingual Hâjî-Abâd^c Inscriptions and in the Trilingual Inscriptions at Naksh-i-Rustam.

In the second Inscription of Hâjî-Abâd which is written in the most ancient Pehlvi, this epithet , is interpreted *Alhâ*, and in the Trilingual Inscription at Naksh-i-Rustam, in Greek the same epithet is interpreted *θεου*, which signifies "God" or "Divine;" therefore we have sufficient reason to read the epithet "*bagi*" which signifies "Divine," because it is the same as in the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions of Hâjî-Abad and of the Naksh-i-Rustam.

As regards the signification of the word *Alhâ*, in the second inscription of Hâjî-Abâd. I do not see any need of making remarks on it; it is so popular in Hebrew, Arabic, and also in modern Pehlvi, that it answers to the word  *Anhumâ*. Observe the semi-vowels *l* and *n* are interchangeable; and the *mâ* is used as a suffix.


Sir C. Rawlinson has chosen to denominate the second inscription of Hâjî-Abâd the Parthian Pehlvi, while Mr. E. Thomas on the contrary considers it as being entitled to the name of Chaldaeo-Pehlvi; but my humble opinion

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. 1847 Vol. X. Pt. II. P. 94, Note 2.

differs from both; and I have reason to consider this inscription to be in the most ancient Pehlvi language.*

Before entering upon an explanation regarding my reasons, I must confess that I am not quite unprepared at present to enter into any more remarks on the subject, but at the same time, I beg leave to request the learned Philologists, just to take a review of the Grammatical and Etymological illustrations of the language, and see how far my humble opinion will be supported by subsequent Philologists; of course the significations of a few words are ambiguous. I cannot enter any further into the subject at present whilst laying my labour before the public; but I hope to publish every thing regarding this interesting subject in my Zand Dictionary if time and leisure permit me.

As to the word *bagi*, the German Orientalists, Dr. Moritzmann and Dr. Olshausen, quite agree in the opinion of the learned Sir. C. Rawlinson.†

From the above-mentioned remarks, and from the unanimous opinions of the Continental Orientalists it is evidently manifest to the readers that the word  enables us to read the epithet *bagi*.

The second character > g of this word, in its orthographical value requires however further consideration. The character > we see several times used in the in-

* The Fac-simile Pehlvi inscription marked B. in Professor Westergaard's *Bundehesh*. I have already deciphered its meanings are the same as that marked A; but a few words are so ambiguous in the latter part of that inscription on which I cannot rely for its correctness and I have not even the auxiliary means at my command of the Semitic and Turanian families of languages. In order to enable me to make out the sense of the original words by the help of comparative Philology, I must leave this matter for some future opportunity.

† *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen* 1850, Vol. IV. P. 85.

scription of Hâjî-Abâd, in a few words; but when we use it as "g" as well as in the word *Tagrâhi* and *Bagi*, then it does not answer the signification of those words, therefore it compels me also to read it *h*; according to the modern Pehlvi system the homogeneous character > having three orthographical values of *h*, *g*, and *h*; see the previous note number first, where I have already discussed the same subject.

After the above remarks we do not see any objection to use the character *h*, instead of *g*.

No. 4th. In the third line the first word bui or bri occurs about the etymological construction of which it is needful to give some more explanation, because M. De Sacy has much discussed it and has interpreted the same with Boman. According to the analogical construction of the word in modern Pehlvi, De Sacy is perfectly correct in his interpretation, but this learned Orientalist deciphered in his valuable work the word, in Hebrew character *בוי*, the first two letters *b* and *v* are admissible in their orthographical value, and for the third letter we have sufficient reason to believe to be *î*, long instead of "măn"; therefore let us give the true reading which will be *bui* or *bri* "son".

In modern Pehlvi the construction of the word *Boman* is quite evident; the root *Bo* or *Bu* signifies "son" and "man" and is used merely as a suffix; therefore if we read the word *bui* we must consider the long *î*, as a suffix, because the root *Bo* is sufficient to answer the origin of the word *Boman* in modern Pehlvi, and it will be also quite allowable to read the same word as *bri*. In modern Pehlvi and Persian the root *bar* answers to "son"; again the long *î* is used merely as a

suffix to the root *bar*. Further we see the long *i* is mostly used as a suffix in the Sassanian Pehlvi Inscription of Haji-Abâd viz ... *hui* excellent,, *Ahurnî* "God".

From the above examples it enables us to decipher the original word *but* or *brî* independently; because the semi-vowels *r* and *u* are no doubt naturally interchangeable in the language of the Sassanian Pehlvi as I can shew from the following examples such as. *Shapuri*, ... *va* *aniran*, *manu* *chatri* *pavan*, *hui*.

No. 5th. In line fifth I first deciphered the third word *hinia* from the copy of Sir Ker Porter's work, but after a minute comparison of the same with Prof. Westergaard's copy, I am compelled to read it *hatia* signifying "he-is" or "who-is."

No. 6th. In line sixth I first deciphered the third word "*Shatardaran*" from the imperfect letters of Sir Ker Porter's copy on mere supposition; but afterwards I have deciphered it from Prof. Westergaard's copy "*Shîrkân*" or *Shîrgân*, signifying commanders.

No. 7th. In line seventh the second word "*darki*," from Sir K. P.'s copy I first deciphered *darki*, but I see the same word is used in Prof. W.'s copy which enables me to read it as *diki*, instead of *darki* which signifies "pure", and also the word *diki* is well known in the Modern Pehlvi language.

No. 8th. In line seventh the seventh word *rahdu*, I deciphered from Sir K. P.'s copy, but I see the second letter of the same word is slightly different in its form from Prof. W.'s copy, therefore we may also read it *rajdu* signifying "just confers", as to the interchangeable value of the second

letter .. in this word. I shall explain my object hereafter, and prefer to read it *rahdu* or *rajdu*: see the following note.

No. 9th. In line seventh we may also read as *jidān*, the ninth word *hudān*, because their significations do not at all differ from each other. On comparison of this word with the Zand *hudān* it signifies "virtuous-person," therefore I considered *hudān* should be in the plural-number "virtuous-persons", and suppose we are allowed to read the same word as *jidān* according to the Persian language the first word جید *jid* would signify "excellent" and آن *ān* is the termination of all substantives and adjectives that are in the plural number; but in the English language the adjective has no plural number, therefore, I think the signification "virtuous-persons" will serve the same purpose.

The orthographical value of the first letter in this word deserves our consideration. In the first place this character .. in the Sassanian Lapidary Pehlvi very slightly differs in its form from the character .. *h*; but besides this we have a strong reason for its interchangeable value, Mr. E. Thomas considers this character to have three different values as ج ص * but according to my humble opinion it serves also for the character *h*, as above mentioned in the words *hudān* or *jidān*. Observe at the same time the second letter *u*, changed into *i*, as well as the و *v*, for ي *y*. These are often interchangeable in the Persian, Arabic and other languages.

No. 10th. In line eighth, I have deciphered the sixth word *vik* with the signification O, from the imperfect letters of Sir Ker P.'s copy and from its comparison with the Persian ویک *velk*, I preferred at the time to read it *vik*, but after-

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1850, Vol. XII. Pt. 2. P. 262 Pl. I.

wards I have seen the same word used in Prof. W.'s copy when I was inclined to read it *Aik*, the same word is repeated in line ninth.

No. 11th. In line ninth the ninth word *hitân*, I first deciphered according to its analogical construction with the modern Pehlvi *hatân*, and in Hebrew יתן, signifying "shall I give"? "or to give." I am still of opinion that the first character of the above word *hatân*, should be read as *h*, because it has four different orthographical values, for which I beg to refer the readers to the note number ninth on the word *hudân*, or *jidân*, wherein I have already discussed the subject.

According to the forms of the last character of the above word, we can read it with *k* as *hitâk*, but I do not see any great difference in the forms of these two characters *k*, and *n*.

They are used in the inscription; and besides this I have strong reason to believe that in the Iranian family of languages, particularly in Pehlvi and Persian, the *k*, and *n*, are both interchangeable letters. For this I beg to refer my readers to the following opinion of the learned Sir C. Rawlinson and Dr. Müller.

"The termination in *âk* and *ân* follow the variety of Pehlvi and Persian Orthography, and are precisely analogous to the double forms of عراق, and ایران, *abastâk* and *apastân* &c."*

Besides this, I have reason to read the above word *hitân* instead of *hitâk*, because we find the verb in the

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1847. Vol. X. Pt. II. P. 80. Note 2. and Journal Asiatique April 1839. Essay on the Pehlvi language by Dr. Müller, Vol. VII. P. 296 to 301.

Zand Avestâ having the personal termination of the first person singular *ni* or *ne*, therefore according to its analogical termination with the Zand Avestâ I prefer to read it *Hitân* signifying "I may give" or "shall I give"?

Observe the above word is used already in the inscription in line eleventh and fourteenth with the additional terminations *ni*, for the first person singular as well as in the Zand Avestâ; but in their significations they do not differ from each other as far as their personal terminations of the first person singular are concerned.

No. 12th. In line twelfth the sixth word *rak*, signifying "thou," I deciphered from Sir Ker Porter's copy which answers in modern Pehlvi *tu* *rak*, the second person singular "thou", but after a comparison with Prof. W.'s copy, I see it reads like *Zak* signifying "that" as a demonstrative pronoun, which does not answer to the original passage; therefore I prefer to read it *rak* according to Sir K. P.'s copy.

No. 13th. In line twelfth the seventh word *runi*, I first deciphered from the imperfect letters of Sir K. P.'s copy; but after its comparison with Prof. W.'s copy, I preferred reading it as *rahnî* signifying "law".

No. 14th. The same remark as above applies to the sixth word *tana*, in line thirteenth which I now prefer to read "*tia*."

No. 15th. In line fifteenth the fourth word *huiak*, was first deciphered by me from the imperfect letters of Sir K. P.'s copy; but after its minute comparison with Prof. W.'s copy, I was compelled to read it *hitâk* or *hitân*. For full explanation of this word, I beg to refer my readers to the note number eleventh in the previous pages.

APPENDICES.

• APPENDIX.

Note A, p. 6.

MODERN critics first raised strong objections to the authenticity of the Zand Avesta, and after most able discussions aided by all their present refined learning and abilities they came at last to the firm conclusion as to its genuineness; but they now ask to what family of languages the word Zand Avesta belongs? and what is the etymological signification of that word?

To the first question we can safely answer that it is of pure Arian origin. Dr. Spiegel has ably discussed its origin and signification; but the learned orientalist does not feel satisfied himself with his own result. He is inclined to think it is derived from the Semitic languages. Conclusions contrary to this supposition are those of Dr. Haug, Dr. Chwolsohn, and of Prof. Westergaard, all of whom agree that this compound word belongs to the Arian family of languages.

Now let us take a review of what opinions there are in regard to the signification of the above word. On this point I see all the orientalists have unanimously expressed their opinion as follows.

"Avesta," i. e. Divine Revelation, or Text, Zand means the explanation of this; and Pazand the Supplements to the Zand, or further explanation of the Zand doctrine.*

From the above explanation we think their authorities are chiefly derived from Mahomedan writers; and amongst them the learned Dr. Spiegel produces the evidence of *Dustur Aspendyârjî* as an unexpected confirmation of those opinions, and I think we may admit this view as a matter of individual opinion.

Grammatik der Pârsi-sprache von Dr. Fr. Spiegel, P. 206-207.
schrift der Deutschen Morgenlândischen. Leipzig 1855 Vol. IX.
P. 696-698. Zeit. Deut. Morg. Vol. VII. P. 408. 409. and Bunsen's
Egypt's Place in Universal History. Vol. III. P. 474. Note 206.

'I do not see any valid reason why M. Burnouf's opinion is overboarded; let us however see what ground the above-named learned orientalists show in favour of their assertions.

In the foregoing pages I have already discussed the word "Zand Avesta," according to its traditional meanings,* but when I see that our learned orientalists such as Dr. Spiegel, Dr. Haug, and Prof. Westergaard, differ with me as to the genuine signification of the Zand Avesta, it is incumbent upon me to give in detail an etymological explanation of this compound word.

The word "Zand" signifies according to Dr. Spiegel:—†

"Zend Avesta" when we intend to speak of the writings of the first period in particular, we say Zend writings, i. e., written in the Zend language. In order not to prolong this introduction unduly, I may perhaps be allowed, for the sake of brevity, to refer to the researches appended to my *Parsí Grammar*.‡ From these it appears that no valid ground can be found that the orientals ever designated a language, by the name of Zend, it rather means a book. We have likewise found the expression *Zendavesta* to be a younger, especially moslemic denomination; but that the genuine Persian sources inversely show *Avesta* and *Zend*. *Avesta*, or in the older form *Apesták* (. with the Syrians) is literally the *Text* and is the only correct designation for the text of the holy scriptures, always used by the later Persians, when they do not use the expression "law" (*din*), which probably has a more limited meaning. In the invocations of the *Yaçna* and elsewhere in the older period the expression *Mañthrô çpēñto* i. e. the holy speech, occurs for the sacred writings, an expression which has also maintained itself later under the form *Mânser-çpēñt*. For the language of this older period the Parsees use the expressions—language of the *Mañthra*, language of the *Avesta*, celestial language, all three of which are unfortunately too unhandy for common usage, whilst the expression "old Persian language" is correct but too general.—*Zend* however, a not yet sufficiently explained word, is said to designate the commentary of the

* Vide P. 6. 7. of the above.

† *Avesta die Heiligen Schriften Der Parsen* Von Dr. Fr. Spiegel Leipzig 1852 Erster Band P. 45.

‡ "2) *Parsigrammatik*, P. 1. ff. P, 205 ff."

holy books, perhaps the Huzvaresh translation. The language of this translation the Parsees call Huzvaresh from the Zend *huzaothra* i. e. *bonum sacrificium habens* [having good sacrifice]. In connection with Zend, Pâzend is always named which expression seems to designate the glosses of the translation."*

Dr. Haug,† and Prof. Westergaard,‡ are of the same opinion. Whatever opinion those orientalists may advance, they are unable to point out any ancient authority on the subject. Dr. Spiegel merely quotes Dastur Aspandiyarji's unexpected authority in his favour.§

After consulting Aspandiyarji's authority, he is still of opinion to look for a fitting etymology in the Semitic languages; but if the Zend language is so copious in its grammatical forms then why should we look for its name in foreign languages? I think my learned friend's suppositions based on this head are merely that he found the Semitic form "Apestâk" of the Zand original "Avesta."||

Dr. Haug, after a lengthy discussion in the Journal of the German Oriental Society at last quite agrees with Dr. Spiegel and concludes as follows.¶

"Let us now epitomize the results of the enquiry concerning the use of the names in question, in Pehlvi writings, and also in later Parsi notices 1) Avesta, Zend and Pazend are the names of sacred writings, which the myth carries up to Zoroaster, and they are not names of languages as Anquetil had assumed Zend and Pazend to be 2). The relation of these three holy writings to each other is this: that Avesta is the oldest doctrine derived immediately from Ormuzd, Zend is an interpretation of this celestial doctrine, and Pazend a further explanation of the Zend doctrine."

If the learned orientalist thinks "the myth carries the writings up to Zoroaster," then where is the use of expostulating on the subject. However a member of the Zoroastrian community, I, in my behalf

* For the above English Translation I am indebted to my learned friend Mr. Ed. Rehatsek.

† Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges. Vol. IX. P. 697.

‡ Zendavesta or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians. By Prof. Westergaard. Vol. I. Pre. P. I. Note 1).

§ Grammatik Der Parsi-sprache. Von Dr. F. Spiegel, P. 207 Note.

|| Avesta die Heiligen Schriften Der Parsen Von Dr. F. Spiegel, 1852. I. Band P. 45.

¶ Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges. Vol. IX. P. 703.

and also on behalf of those who adhere to the doctrine of Zoroaster, most strongly protest against such assertions and with this protest, I close the subject, leaving the matter to be elucidated by the learned Dr. Chwolsohn.*

"What Spiegel demonstrates in his Grammar of the Parsi language, that Avesta means the text, Zend the commentary and Pazend the super-commentary of the Avesta, has been said already by Masûdf twice in the Murûg'ed-dahab, and once in the *kitâb-et-tenbih* (see Notices and Extr. Vol. VIII P. 159.)"

It seems from Dr. Chwolsohn's letters that after consulting the Arab authors he quite agrees with Dr. Spiegel.

Prof. Westergaard after a very short discussion seems to agree in some respect with Dr. Spiegel and says:—†

"I shall here apply the form Zend to the ancient language, and Zand to the Pehlvi translation."

The above system is adopted by Westergaard just changing the simple vowel "a" into "e" in the spelling, thus shewing his views on one point to be quite at variance with those of Dr. Spiegel and Dr. Haug.

No matter what opinion may be adduced by those learned Orientalists, there is no valid ground to contradict the traditional and etymological MEANINGS of the Zoroastrians.

It is well known to orientalist in general, that the name of the Sacred Scriptures of Zoroaster is well preserved by oral repetition and has been transmitted from generation to generation down to the present day to the followers and professors of Zoroaster's religion, for which assertion I shall give detailed examples hereafter.

My principal reason for admitting the signification of the word Zand Avesta according to the traditional system of the Zoroastrians, and according to the suggestion of M. Burnouf and Dr. Wilson, was based upon the following grounds:—

First it is well known to orientalist in general that names of the several Asiatic and European languages—I mean the Arian European languages are chiefly derived from Countries, Provinces and Villages, then why should not the Zand in like manner be derived from the province "Zantu;" if we take the theme "Zanta" of this substantive

* Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges. 1852. Vol. VII. P. 408.

† Westergaard's Zendavesta, 1852 Vol. I. P. I. Note 1).

we can easily reduce to the nominative case "Zand" as a proper name of the language; in like manner the other Arian languages have derived their origin; here we see the analogous designations viz:—Farsistan or Parsistan, from the theme Fars or Para, designating the language Fârsî or Parsî; and from Pehlu, we derived the Pehlvi: then the secondary question will arise how the final letter "t" changed itself into dental "d" for this we have several reasons to lay before our readers that it is an established rule in the Zand language, as the verb in the present tense "Mraôtê" "speak" and in the past tense Mraôd or Mraôt, "he spoke" and the pronoun Tēm and Dēm in the accusative case, and the verb Dâidhî and Dâitî.

Why should not we according to the above example derive the word Zand from Zantu by changing the anusavâra ñ, into simple nasal n and in like manner the dental d or ṭ into, d.

Further we see the ancient inhabitants of the Zantu, i. e. town, borough or Village are called by the Armenian Historian Elisaeus, Eznik, Zendik or Zendak.* In the year of Christ 441 the well-known Elisaeus the author of the History of Vartan used in his work† the word Sandik for "Zandik" as the national name thus changing the "Z" into "S"

From the above quoted Armenian authorities it is obvious that the Zandik people must have had a language of their own and that according to the true nomenclature of their country it derived its name in the same manner, as the other Hindo-Germanic or Arian European languages which are well known to have been named after their birth-places, that is to say after Countries, Provinces and Villages, why therefore does Mr. Neumann seem to doubt very much whether the words Send and Zend are synonymous because the modern Mahomedan writers have given a wrong explanation of Send i. e. "heretics and heresies"‡ the falsification of the signification is quite apparent and requires no refutation from me as the following remarks are sufficient to show the reader how far the

* Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft of 1857 Vol. XI. P. 527.

† Eng. Trans. of the above work of 1830 P. 31 and P. 95 Note-4. of which I will take due notices in succeeding pages as to the etymological construction of the word Sandik.

‡ English Trans. of the History of Vartan P. 95. 96. Note 4.

Mahomadan writers are to be believed. The same meaning of the above word is also given by Mirkhond* owing to his limited knowledge of the old Persian language.

If we carefully compare the word Sendik with the original word "Zand" of the Arian family of languages, it will be seen at once that it is a corruption of the word Zendik, and is just no more than a metamorphosis that the Armenian authors we see have changed the Z into S. in the same way as is the case in the ancient Aire Cote language in which the word Zand is called San.† In later times some of the German Orientalists were in the habit of using the word Send‡ instead of Zend to suit their own articulation and even the ancient Armenian authors when writing regarding Zoroaster have used the word Saratashd§ from the original Persian word Zaredusht and in the same way the ancient Irish called Zoroaster by the name Soraster.|| These examples clearly show that the original letter Z has on many occasions been changed by many authors into S to suit their own convenience. We cannot therefore doubt of the identity of the words Zand and Send and must therefore conclude: First that the ancient people of Zantu, are called by the Armenian authors "Zendik" or "Sendik." Secondly that for this reason the language of those people must be called the Zand.

After a most able exposition by Dr. Spiegel and Dr. Haug they came to the following conclusions: Dr. Spiegel then proceeds to give a further explanation for which I am only doing justice to Dr. Spiegel by quoting the following passages from his *Parsi Grammar*.¶

"Now what means Avesta and Zend? On this subject Neriosengh informs us by translating both these words, in the first of the above

* English Trans. David Shea Mirkhond's History of the Early Kings of Persia of 1832 P. 284.

+ Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Cote and ancient Irish Preface P. XXXVI.

† J. R. A. S. G. B & I. Vol. XV. P. 2. N. I.

§ Eng. Trans. History of Vartan P. 82. Note 2. and The Phi. Uni. His. by Bunsen Vol. I. P. 328.

|| Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Cote and Ancient Irish Preface P. XXXVI.

¶ Grammatik der Parsi-sprache Zusätze and Verbesserungen P. 206-207.

quoted passages of the Yaçna, in the following manner "*avistāvdnīm vyākhyānāncha*" and in the second by "*avistāvdnīm arthāncha*". Both these expressions also often occur in Neriosengh, in glosses which are not existing in the Huzvaresh translation. From what has been just said, it follows in my opinion indisputably that the Parsees understand by Avesta their sacred scriptures, and by Zend their commentary, or rather their translation; at present I no longer doubt that the glosses to this translation are called Pazend. From the Huzvaresh translation it may be easily shown that by Avesta in reality the "text of the sacred scripture is meant, because the expression, it is clear from the Avesta" occurs too often to need an especial quotation. Dastur Dārāb even remarks upon an interpolated passage of the second Fargard. "This Avesta is from another Nosk."

"But now what signifies Avesta and Zend? What Avesta signifies has already been clearly pointed out by J. Müller (Essai sur le Pehlvi P. 297.) It entirely answers to our *Text*. I have nothing to propose for the word *Zend*, but if this word designates the commentary, and consequently belongs to a later period, its explanation may perhaps be also found in the Semitic languages, and it is possible that a fitting etymology will be discovered in them since this has hitherto been unsuccessful from the Sanskrit. According to this hypothesis also the passage from the *Ulemā-i-Islām* adduced in P. 13 will become plain: Avesta (the text of the holy books) is the "language of Ormazd, and Zend is our language (the universally intelligible translation) and Pazend is that by which every one knows what he says (the glosses explanatory of the translation)."*-

From the foregoing remarks of this learned Orientalist it appears to me that Dr. Spiegel has not positively decided as to the etymological construction of the Zand, because he still is of opinion that a fit-

* I have just now found an unexpected confirmation of my views in J. Wilson: The Parsi religion unfolded etc. P. 402, Note. It is a new warning against the usual preconceived opinion opposing the Parsi tradition Passim.: "Aspandiarji very absurdly says: "The Padre must remember, that the Vendidad does not exist in the Zend, but in the Avesta language, which is sometimes denominated by the Parsees the celestial language. On this book a Zend, Pazend was written, which is no more than a commentary or paraphrase of the original text." Consequently Aspandiarji did not assert an absurdity, but on the contrary, he asserted that which is correct, (though, as noticed by Dr. Wilson, he afterwards speaks of "the Zend language.")

ting etymology ought to be looked for from the Semitic languages and Dr. Haug after considering this opinion of Dr. Spiegel agrees on this point.*

Taking into consideration the minor points of argument we can deduce the safest conclusion for all of them as below, according to Dr. Haug.†

"206 Avesta means Direct higher knowledge, Divine Revelation; Zend means the explanation of this; and Pazend the Supplements to the Zend, or further explanation of the Zend doctrine. All the three steps exist in the present Zend Avesta or more properly Avesta-Zend. See upon this subject my treatise on this name in the *Morgenländ Zeitsch.* Vol. IX. P. 694. seq."

From this and the facts above referred to it appears to us that neither Dr. Spiegel nor Dr. Haug have given any satisfaction as to the real etymology of the word Zand Avesta and therefore I cannot admit the objection taken by both of them until they show sufficient cause for doing so. It is in this case obligatory on us to admit the predominant opinion of the Zoroastrians of Persia and India (which is based on its traditional version); a better reason than this cannot be adduced into the present polemical subject.

Sir W. Jones after consulting the opinion of his friend Bahman says:—‡

"But a learned follower of Zeratust named Bahman, who lately died at Calcutta where he had lived as a Persian reader about three years, assured me, that the letters of his prophet's book were properly called Zend, and the language, Avesta, as the words of the Vedâ's are Sanscrit and the characters Nâgarî."

The learned Orientalist Mulla Feroze states as follows:—§

"The K'hasnuman is written by Rustomjî Byramjî Sanzânâ in the Zand character.

The learned Dustur Eduljî Dorabjî Sanzânâ has variously mentioned as below."||

* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Neunten Band P. 697.

† *Egypt's place in Universal History.* Bunsen Vol. III. P. 474. Note 206.

‡ Sir W. Jones's works of 1807, Vol. III. P. 113.

§ *Avizê Din Yânê Khâlêsh Dîn* (Pure law or religion) of 1830 P. 551.

|| *Khôrdê-avestâ* written in Zand characters with Persian translation by the above named Dustur in the year of Yazdêzer 1169 see the beginning of first page.

"Zand characters", i.e. Zand letters, written with corresponding Persian alphabets. The Vendidad is commenced in the Zand characters."*

By the desire of the late Framji Cawasji, Esq., Dastur Framji Aspendiârji Rabâry translated the Vendidad Yaçna and Vispered into the Guzratî language and transcribed the original Zand characters in Guzratî letters which the learned Dastur acknowledges in his preface.†

A Ravâêt, in my possession written about two centuries ago, contains the Khôrdê Avestâ, minor fragments of Zand Avesta and a collection of various Affrins. In the same work the Zand alphabets are written and the writer distinctly says in the Index that they are in Zand characters.‡

Comparing the opinions of European orientalisks we see no satisfactory etymological explanation given for the word Zand Avesta. Dr. Spiegel after searching for the root in the Sanskrit language, acknowledges that he has been unsuccessful, and he now expects to seek the root in the Semitic languages for a fitting etymology. Dr. Haug after referring to the Arian and Semitic families of languages for the root "Zan" has been compelled to draw this conclusion:—§

"Spiegel already has quite correctly derived the word *Zend* from the root *Zan*; the verb is to be met with several times with the *Prâp.* *ava* in the meaning of to *remark*, to *perceive* in the Vendidad; the simple substantive *Zântu* which we must take for our basis, I could not as yet discover; on the other hand we find the composition *paitizanti* of which hereafter *Zând* (a) I *bad*, *evil*, wherewith the New Pers. *دشمن* dreadful, Armenian *Zant bad*, *despicable* agrees, must by no means be drawn into the discussion. The root *Zan* which we meet with in the Skr. *gnâ*, Greek. *gno*. Armenian *dsan* (Aor *dsaneaj* Infin. *dsanaceal* to know, to recognize) and in the Ossetic *zon* (Inf. *zon-in*) has throughout the signification of to know, to recognize; accordingly *Zânti* must mean *knowledge*, recognition

* Lithographed Vendidad. Bombay Yazdejerd 1200 Pre. P. 2.

† The Vendidad Sâde of the Pârsis, by the late Framji Aspendiârji and other Dasturs. Lithographed for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1842 Vol. I. Pre. P. 2.

‡ Ravâêt written by Mobed Jemsed bin Kêkôbâd bin Jemsed in the year of Yazdezard, 1078. P. 2. 386.

§ Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges. Vol. IX. P. 697.

(explanation). At present Burnouf's interpretation needs no longer a refutation."

The above does not indicate the real etymology of the word Zand as it is inconsistent to admit it according to the rules of the Zand grammar. It seems to me that both Dr. Spiegel and Dr. Haug have overlooked the essential root of the same word from the Zand Avesta and I do not wish to flatter myself, but in justice to both of these learned men I beg to point out what I believe to be the original root of the above word from the Zand Avesta.

The root "Zan" "to know" is no doubt derived from the verb Zanāu* signifying "they perceive, they know, they recognize, they observe, or they notice." (In the Russian Polish and Bohemian languages Znadem. i. e. I know.) From this verb we can deduce the noun the Nom. Sing. Zand i. e. "explanation, meaning and recognition," and from this we may safely conclude for the word Pāzend i. e. explanation of explanation; that is to say sub-explanation and in a more appropriate sense to show the signification underneath the Zand,† as a verbal translation; and further we see the word. "Âzaiāntēm,"‡ signifying commentary.§ This word is used in an Accusative singular, the initial affix â is merely an inseparable preposition or an abstract prefix and the second etymon "Zaint" means "explanation," and if we reduce it into the Nominative singular by changing the Anusavara añ into simple nasai n, and the dental t into d or t, it will be acceptable as a Nominative in "Zand" i. e. "explanation or recognition." And the last suffix ěm, is to be considered as a sign for the Accusative case.

After coinciding with J. Müller, regarding the meaning of the word Avesta, Dr. Spiegel says, "what Avesta signifies has already been clearly pointed out by J. Müller (Essai sur le Pehlvi p. 297). It entirely answers to our text.||

As to the signification of this word I quite agree with both these writers; but its etymology appears to me to be very imperfect.

* Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen. Von Dr. Fr. Spiegel. I. Band. Vendidad. Sechster Fargard P. 57. German Translation Vol. I. P. 121. Pr. 94.

† Wilson on the Parsi Religion. F. 200. N.

‡ Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen. von Fr. Spiegel. II. Band P. 26. Para I. and Kerdê or Chapter 16.

§ German Translation Vol. II. P. 26. chapter 16. Para I.

|| Grammatik der Parsi-sprache von Dr. Fr. Spiegel P. 207.

Dr. Haug has already admitted this,* and very ably, discussed the matter as follows.

"Let us look for a more correct and fitting derivation of the word. In the first place its various forms must be adduced: Avestâ, Vestâ, Bestâ in New Persian, אפסתא [Apstak] in Pehlevî-writings. We may consider Avestâ as the most original of them, because it may be found in the Pehlevi writings which are much older than the New-Persian sources; the a early manifests itself as a prefix whereas the strictly so called root is vestâ. This can be only *vat*, *vad*, or *vid*; the first, which occurs in connection with *api*¹⁾ means to *confess*, (Yaçna 9. 25. Vend. 9. 6); the latter has two meanings to *know* and to *find*, *obtain* (in the latter signification we also find the form *viñd*, but only in the younger dialect, the older one shows no difference). The suffix tâ is either the suff. of the part. pass. ta (in the neuter plural) or the abstract suffix tâ (for tât). The latter is the more probable, since the Pehlvi form of the part. pass. is merely t (see my Abhandlung über die Pehlewisprache p. 18), and the form apistak presupposes a concluding long a in Zend. Now what does Avesta strictly mean? If it be derived from the root *vat* to know, then it would mean knowledge, I am however not quite pleased with this derivation. I would rather refer it to the other root *vid*; then it would mean either the *science*, *that which has been found*, *obtained*; the former signification might be preferred because we find an entirely analogous designation of their holy books already among the Indians; namely Veda (from the same root); according to the latter one, only *tradition* would be meant. But the circumstance is decisive, that in the Zendavesta (Visp. 9. 3. 11. 19. Yesht 10. 120.) we meet with âviçti and âviçta from the root *vid* to know; only these forms cannot at least immediately be referred back to the simple â-vid according to the context of the passages, but they belong to the causal form â-

* Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Leipzig 1855 IX Band P. 697.

¹⁾ Comp. api-vat Rig-veda VII. 3, 10; etâ na Agne saubhagâ didthy api kratum sucetasm vatima i. e., shine to us, Agni, these goods of fortune; we will confess the (thy) intelligent wisdom (publicly praise thy great wisdom). Further passages have been collected by Roth, Nirukta Erläut. P. 135.,

vaêdhaj; this [form Engl. tr.] is a species of technical term for *consecrating, blessing* the Haoma, and strictly means to cause to *know immediately* (because the preposition â, instead of which we also find the yet stronger aiwi, means the immediate reference of the action to the object, which e. g. in Arabic is expressed by the so called 3rd conjugation) i. e. quite especially to operate upon it with holy words and formulæ, so that these may, so to say, become quite incorporated with it. Accordingly aviçta means consecrated and âviçti consecration. As far as the Avestâ in question is concerned there is no reason to attribute to it, the special signification of âviçti and âviçta, likewise it is not exactly necessary to refer the word back to the causal â-vaêdhaj; the derivation from the simple active may suffice accordingly. Avestâ would mean the *immediate knowledge* i. e. the knowledge obtained by contemplation. A better sense appears however to result if we base it upon the causal; in that case it would be; *the knowledge obtained by immediate communication, the higher revelation.**"

The above explanation does not clearly point out the real root of the word "Avestâ" nor even the substantial etymology of the word in its direct sense, because Dr. Haug has taken the root *vid to know*, from the causal from "â-vaêdhaj" which means to cause to know immediately, and accordingly "âviçta means consecrated and âviçti consecration." He also says, "the derivation from the simple active may suffice, accordingly Avesta would mean the immediate knowledge i. e. the knowledge obtained by contemplation. A better sense appears however to result if we base it upon the causal, in that case it would be the knowledge obtained by immediate communication with the higher revelation".

We have sufficient reason to believe that this signification is admitted, but at the same time we cannot admit the causal form â—vaedhaj, better than Nivaêdhajêmi i. e. "I cause to know" and "I make to know." The ni is merely a combination

* Zeit. Dent Marg. Vol. IX. P. 696-697.

as an inseparable preposition and the root "vid" to know; this root however does not substantiate the ground of the word "Avistâ".

The great Orientalist Burnouf first brought to our notice the root "vid" to know, to understand from the causal verb Nivaedhaje-mi, âvae-dayemahe and vaedija or vidya i. e. "divine science"* and he thinks the latter, the technical name for the theological literature of the Zoroastrian religion, Avesta. This explanation however is not accepted by orientalists in general; it will therefore be necessary for us to take a comprehensive review of the word Avista in its primitive sense.

The verb Vistu, in the past tense signifies, "known or understood"† (or obtained,) why therefore should we not reduce the direct root from this verb. "vis" "to know to understand" and use the formal word Avista that is to say by immediate communication obtained the "Divine revelation" the prefix *a* must therefore be considered as a combination of a preposition or a an abstract affix and the suffix *tâ*, is no more there as a sign of the nominative case in neuter.

If we deduce the word Avesta from the verb vista we may then take it in its strict sense; the root Vis "to know" answers far better than the root vat, vad and vid; because in the past tense the verb vistu "known" is quite apparent and according to Dr. Haug the *a* early manifests itself as an abstract prefix, and the *ta* merely as a suffix; we must then consider vis as a genuine root; and from the foregoing explanations we may safely conclude that Avesta means "divine revelation, or holy speech". With regard to the latter signification I may safely compare vista with the bastâ of the ancient Aire Cote language or old Irish.

The word bastâ is used in the plural number and the singular is used in the Irish Beas which answers to the Zand root "Vis."

The juxtaposition of the *v* and *b* is readily admitted by the rule of comparative philology not only in Asiatic but in European languages; and also in New-Persian the word Besta is often used.

In regard to the juxtaposition of the word Zand Avesta, or Avesta Zand, the ancient writers have used the word in various ways, the reader is therefore very frequently confused regarding the true significations.

* Journal Asiatique 1846. Févr. Tom VII. P. 142-150.

† Dr. Spiegel's Zand Avesta Yasna. HA. XLIX, 1. German Translation P. 162.

This will be seen by the following observation. The word Zand Avesta means Avesta written in the Zand characters and in the Zand language, while Avesta Zand means Avesta with Zand version or commentary, and Pazand means sub-explanation under the Zand original i. e. verbatim written underneath in the Huzvarash or in the Proper Pehlvi language or in New-Persian.

Respecting the signification of the word Zand Avesta Dr. Spiegel, Dr. Haug and the Russian Orientalist Dr. Chowlishon, have all referred to the several works of the Arabian and Persian writers, but it seems to me that they have overlooked the principal authority viz :—the Sharistan Chârcheman which I beg leave to quote here as a matter of reference.*

بظهور بیوست انحضرت فرمود که این کلام الهی بعقیدۀ آبادیان
یعنی ترجمۀ معلومات من جانب الله است بطریق رمز و اشارات
وکسی را یارای درک آن نبود جز از خدا و رسول او چون همگی از
درک آن وتفہیم معنی زند بل از قرات قاصر بودند مگر از تفسیر کہ
پازند مشہور و موسوم است •

“His Lordship said to Zahurbiust [ظہور بیوست] that these words are of God in the religion of the Amdians, namely that they are the interpretations of known things on the side of God [or by God himself] by way of mysteries and indications, nobody is capable to understand them except God and his prophet, since all of them were unable to reach and to understand the Zend meaning *nay they could not even read it* except through the explanation which is the well known so called Pazend.”

The most important question was mooted by W. Von. Schlegel, and by Mr. Curzon. It was whether or not the word “Zand” is the corruption of the Sanskrit word Chhandas?. I have already refuted this in the preceeding pages, but after having perused the article written by Prof. Max Muller under the head of “The Last Results of the Persian Researches in Comparative Philology” wherein he writes:—†

* This work was written in the time of Fifth Sassan by Byrām Farhād and it was Lithographed in Bombay by Savaks Hormazdiar in the year of Yazdezer 1223. P. 190.

† Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History Vol I. P. 113.

"I still hold that the very name of Zend was originally a corruption of the Sanskrit word "chandas" (i. e., metrical language, cf. *scandere*), which is the name given to the language of the Veda by Pāṇini and others. When we read in Pāṇini's grammar that certain forms occur in "chandas" but not in the classical language, we may almost always translate the word "chandas" by Zend, for nearly all these rules apply equally to the language of the Avesta."

I do not see any valid ground why the learned Orientalist should hold this proposition firmly when we see an opinion like that Prof. M. Müller expressed: thus we cannot be much surprised at those of W. Von Schlegel and Mr. Curzon.

Prof. M. Müller in his recent work states.—*

"† *Zend-avesta* is the name used by Chaxāni and other Muhammedan writers. The Parsis use the name *Avesta* and *Zend*, taking *Avesta* in the sense of text, and *Zend* as the title of the Pehlevi commentary. I doubt, however, whether this was the original meaning of the word *Zend*. *Zend* was more likely the same word as the Sanskrit *chhandas* (*scandere*) a name given to the Vedic hymns, and *avesta*, the Sanskrit *avasthāna*, a word which, though it does not occur in Sanskrit, would mean settled text. *Avasthita*, in Sanskrit, means laid down, settled. The *Zend-avesta* now consists of four books, *Yasna*, *Vispered*, *Yashts* and *Vendidad* (*Vendidad*=*vidaeva dāta*; in Pehlevi, *Juddivdad*). Dr. Haug, in his interesting lecture on the "Origin of the Parsee Religion," Bombay, 1861, takes *Avesta* in the sense of the most ancient texts, *Zend* as commentary, and *Pazend* as explanatory notes, all equally written in what we shall continue to call the Zend language."

From the above statement we cannot hold this theory to be firmly established unless it is confirmed by the universally adopted rules of comparative Philology. There is not a single example before us to show or support the authority of that learned orientalist and it does not appear to me that that Philologist has taken any pains like Dr. Spiegel and Dr. Haug to investigate the etymological signification of the word *Zand Avesta* otherwise he would never have neglected the rule of comparative Philology.

* Lectures on the Science of Language 1861 by Prof. Max Müller. P. 192
Note. †.

Prof. Muller has compared the word *Zand*, with “*chhandas*,, (*Scandere*) of the Sanskrit, and Avesta, with the Sanskrit *avasthana*, I shall be glad to know from what conjecture this theory is expressed, because the rule of comparative Philology is not even capable of detecting it, and as the roots of both languages are not acceptable to each other, on what principle then may we rely. I close with a request to the reader to refer to the preceeding pages where I have already given a most detailed explanation on the etymology of the word *Zand* Avesta and Avesta *Zand*.

NOTE B, P. 7.

The name *Zand* Avesta is preserved by oral and written repetition by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia to this day, but even this epithet of the divine revelation is used by our foreign neighbours in various forms ; for instance, the ancient inhabitants of *Zantu i. e.* “a town, borough or village,” are called by the Armenian Historians *Elisus Zandik*, or *Zandak*, (p 50 ed Veret 1838) and by *Eznik* (confut hæret l ii. c 2)* and also *Elisæus, Sandik*. (Eng. trans His. Var 1830 p 31) *Mém. Sur Diver. Antiquités de l' Perse. MDCCXCIII.*, p. 362, 363, and *Bibli Orient.* par Herbelot, p 501, as this word *Zandik* has been made use of to denote the national name of the people, we may therefore use the word *Zand* as a name of their language.†

The Syrian author *Josua Bar Bahlul* has used *Abestago* or *Avestago* for the word *Avesta*,‡ and the Syro-Arabs, *Abestâk* or *Avestak*,§ and the ancient form *Apestak* with the Syrians “is literally the text and is the only correct designation for the text of the holy scriptures,”¶ and the Semitic form is *Apestak*.**

* *Zeit der Deut. Morg. Ges* 1857, Vol. XI. p. 527.

† *Yaçna* p. 228, *J. As.* 1846, Mars p. 260, *J. As.* 1846, Fèvr p. 135, 138.

‡ *Hyde Vet. Per. Parth Rel.* of 1760, p. 337, *Kleuker, Persica*, Anhang Zum *Zend Avesta* 1783, p. 5, and *Transaction of the Literary Society of Bombay* 1820. Vol. II p. 312, Note.

§ *Hyde Vet. Per.*, p. 337.

¶ *Dr Spiegel Avesta die Heiligen Schriften Der. Parser*, 1852, Erster Band, p. 45.

** *Dr. Max. Muller Last Researches in Bunsen outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History* of 1854, Vol. I, p. 118.

The word Zand Avesta is also very correctly used in the ancient Aire Cote or in Anti-Irish language "Sanabesta" *i. e.* holy speeches or holy scriptures,* for a detailed explanation of this compound-word the reader may refer in the preceeding note to mark A.

In modern times the British and Continental Orientalists have used the word Avesta in manifold ways, such as Abastak and Apastant Avestant† Apestâ§, in New Persian Vestâ, or Bestâ|| and for the word Zand, they have used the term Send ¶.

The Divine Revelation of the Holy Zoroaster, according to the firm belief of the Zoroastrians, formerly existed in twenty one Nösks or Volumes, viz :—

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 Yathâ, Satud-Yast. | 12 Shyaothênanam, Khashat. |
| 2 Ahî, Satudgar. | 13 Anghens, Safand. |
| 3 Vairyu, Bahist-manthrah. | 14 Mazdâi, Jarshat. |
| 4 Athâ, Bagh. | 15 Khsathrêmchâi, Baghân-yast. |
| 5 Ratus', Duwazdah-hâmâst. | 16 Ahurâi, Niâram. |
| 6 Ashâd, Nâdar. | 17 Â, Aspâram. |
| 7 Chîd, Pâjem. | 18 Yim, Duasarwajd. |
| 8 Hachâ, Ratushtâi. | 19 Daréghubyu, Ashkâram. |
| 9 Vanghéus, Barash. | 20 Dadhad, Vandidâd. |
| 10 Dazdâ, Khashashruh. | 21 Vâstârêm, Hâdokht. |
| 11 Mananghu, Vistâspa. | |

Here I beg to quote the following explanation of the above named works of the Zand Avesta from Mr. Troyer, according to the Rqyâet.

"This list is incorrect ; it should begin by stating that the Nosks are twenty-one in number of words in the *Yatha-ahu-vairio*—but the ignorance of the transcriber has converted the three first words of a short prayer into the three first Nosks of the *Zend Avesta*.—D. S.

According to several Parsee Doctors, seven of these Nosks, or rather *Nâsk-us*, treated of the first principle, of the origin of beings, of the history of the human race, etc. ; seven treated of morals and of civil and religious duties ; and seven of medicine and astronomy. The

* Dictionary of the Ancient Irish 1802, Int. p. XXXVI.

† J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. of 1847, Vol. X., Part II., p. 80, Note 2.

‡ J. A. O. Society of 1856, Vol. 5, No. II., p. 352.

§ Prof. Westergaard's *Zend Avesta* 1852, Vol. I., Pre. p. I., Note I.

|| Zeit. der Deut. Morg. Ges. 1855, Vol. IX., p. 696.

¶ J. R. A. S. G. B. & I. Vol. XV. P. 2, N. 1.

Pehlvi books and some Persian works mention three other Nosks which are to complete the *Avesta* at the end of this world.—(*Zend-Av.*, t. I. 1. Pp. 479.)

Here follows a list of the Nosks according to a translation made by Anquetil from the Persian Ravaet of Kamah Bérch (see *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. et des B.L.*, t. xxxviii. p. 239—354). I have abridged the explanation of each Nosk, the contents of several of them are much alike, and the miscellaneous matters in them all confusedly stated.

I.—The first Nosk, called *Setud-Yeshet*, “Nosk of prayer or praise,” has 33 chapters.

II.—The second, named *Setud-glor*, “Nosk of prayer and praise,” has 22 chapters, and treats of the purity of actions, of collections for the poor, of the concord which is to subsist between relations.

III.—*Vehest Mantse*, “Heavenly word,” has 22 chapters. It discourses on faith, on the strict observation of the law, and on the propensities of the heart. Mention is made of the qualities of Zardusht, and of the pure people and pure actions which have existed before him.

IV.—*Bagh*, “happiness, light, or garden,” in 24 chapters, states the substance and the true meaning of the law, God's command with respect to obedience, fidelity, justice, or purity of actions, the means of guarding against Satan, and of going into the other world.

V.—*Dôazdah Hamast*, the twelve Hamasts, that is, “means or things produced at the same time.” This book, in 32 chapters, speaks of the bad people of the upper and nether world, of the nature of all beings, of the whole creation of God, of the resurrection, of the bridge Chinavad, and of the fate after death.

VI.—*Nader*, “the excellent, the rare.” This book of 33 chapters is assigned to astronomy, to the influences of the stars upon the actions of men; it corresponds with the Arabic work Buftal (Bufastál); its Persian name is *Favameshian* (*Furavasi han*); that is, by means of this science future events are known.

VII.—*Pajem* means, perhaps, “small animal, or retribution.” This book, in 22 chapters, gives an account of quadrupeds, of actions permitted or not; what animals may be killed or eat, what not; what may be killed for the use of the *Gahenbars*, that is, the six festivals in the year instituted in commemoration of the first creation

X.—*Keresroh*, perhaps “agreeable word.” This book consisted at first of 60 chapters, of 15 only after Alexander’s conquest, it discourses upon the soul, science, intellect, natural and acquired ; upon morality, and the consequences of its being observed or violated.

XI.—*Veshtasp*, *Veshap*, once of 60, but after Alexander of 10 chapters only, contains an eulogy upon the government of Veshtasp (*Gushtasp*), upon his having adopted, observed and propagated Zardusht’s Laws.

XII.—*Khesht*, “brick, or little lance, or agriculture.” This book, in 22 chapters, discusses six subjects relative to religion, policy, morals, cultivation, political economy, and administration of justice. In the fifth part are stated the four venerable classes of men, which are the kings and chiefs, the warriors, the cultivators, and the tradesmen.

XIII.—*Sefand*, “excellent,” inculcates in 60 chapters the observation of moral and religious duties, and the faith in the miracles of Zardusht.

XIV.—*Jesht*, “he does ;” this book, of 22 chapters, treats of the birth and the destination of man.

XV.—*Baghangast*, “the yesht of the fortunate,” contains in 17 chapters the praise of God, of the angels, and of the man who approaches God and is thankful for the benefits which he receives from above.

XVI.—*Niarum* means, perhaps, “I do not seek my advantage.”

This book, of 54 chapters, teaches the good employ of one's fortune, and the advantages of a good behaviour towards God and men.

XVII.—*Asparam*, may signify "the ties, the book by excellence, the dawn, the heaven, perfect, plant, leaf." It treats in 64 chapters of the *Nerengs*, that is, of the powers, faculties in different acceptations; here of the powers of good actions, and of liturgical ceremonies."

XVIII.—*Davaserujed*, "he who offers the extreme expedient, or who speaks of it," of 65 chapters, shows the knowledge of men and animals; how the latter are to be taken care of; how travellers and captives are to be treated.

XIX.—*Askaram*, "I discover, explain, make known, teach publicly," in 53 chapters, explains the obligation, the best establishment and limitation of laws and regulations.

XX.—*Vendidad*, "given for the repulsion of the Divs," of 22 chapters, forbids all sorts of bad, impure, and violent actions.

XXI.—*Hadokht*, "the powerful *Has*," that is, "words of phrases of the *Avesta*," in 30 chapters, exhibits the manner of always performing many miracles, pure works, and admirable things.

Of all these Nosks, not one, except the *Vendidad*, has been preserved complete, and the names of three only, namely, the *Setud-Yesht*, the *Vendidad*, and the *Hadokht* are mentioned in the different Zand-books still extant. This shows that, at different times, changes in the forms of the written liturgy have taken place, and that the names, superscriptions, and divisions of the writings have been arbitrarily treated by different Dosturs, without any change in the contents.

The names of the Nosks given by Hyde (343, 345), partly from the Dictionary *Farhang Jehungiri*, and partly from other sources not mentioned, are not correct nor rightly explained.

Three additional Nosks are to be brought into the world by three posthumous sons of Zoroaster. See in a subsequent note their miraculous origin and actions.

The Persian text of another Notice upon the Nosks somewhat more complete than that published by Anquetil in Roman letters, has been edited by Messrs. Julius Mohl and Olshausen, of Kiel, (see *Fragmenta relativi à la Religion de Zoroastre, extraits des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 1829).—A. T.*

* Eng. Tran. Dabistan or School of Manners. Vol. I., P. 272, 275, N. I.

The remaining or the present portions of the Zand Avesta consist of the following :—

Vendidâd.	Vistaspa Nask.
Yasna.	Hadôkhat Nask.
Vispered.	Khordê-avestâ, etc.

NOTE C, p. 30.

The word *Baga*, "God or Divine," Mr. E. Salisbury* has compared with the Sanskrit *Bhaga* in the title Bhagavat, the "holy, the blessed one," and according to the point of comparative Philology, it may be admitted, but at the same time we have strong reason to think the original word *Baga* is of a pure Arian origin. This epithet of the Great Omnipotence is often used in the Zand Avesta,† in its various forms according to the termination of the cases and even from the most remote times the ancient-Persian, Median, Soghdian and Backtrian, and also the Russian, Polish-Bohemian, and also in all the Slavonic languages they still use the word *Bag* ‡ in the same manner as the English and other Germanic nations still use the word God, and Gott, derived from the Persian *Khoda* خوردا as a proper name of the Supreme being; and the late Russian Czar § used to worship the Baga as a God, and further we see the primitive Arian children have preserved the epithet on the great tablet of Persepolis and this monumental record of the Achemenian Kings is about four or five centuries B. C. old, and in the latter time the Sassanian Kings have most copiously used the same title in the Bilingual Pehlvi Inscriptions of Haji-abad, and in the Trilingual inscriptions of the Nakhsh-i-Rustum, Nakhsh-i-Razub, and Kermanshah|| From this, it is quite evident, that the Perso-Arians

* Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. I., p. 552.

† Yaçna T. I., p. 48. Vendidad Sade von., Dr. H. Brockhus, p. 380.

‡ Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen von Dr. Spiegel, Vol. I., page 260, N. (5) ; Vol. II., p. 79, N. (4). Mithra von Dr. Fr. Windischmann, c. XXXIII.

§ Edinburgh Review, Vol. 93, p. 230.

|| Professor Westergaard's Pehlvi Bundehesh, p. 83, marked A and B. Memoires sur Diverses Antiquites De La Perse Par S. D. Sacy, p. I., Pl. I. Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol. II., Pl. LV.

have preserved the name of their creator better than the Hindu-Arian and other nations.

In the old Persian language this word *Baga* is used in the same sense as in the Zand Avesta, and according to the opinion of Professor F. Pott, the word *Bagdâd** signifies "given or created by God."

From the Old Persian word *Baga* the Sanskrit has derived the word *Bhaga* by changing the labial *b* into the aspirate *bh* and have used it as a title of the Bhâgavat.

Hyâ, "he who." Mr. Salisbury has compared with the compounded *hyâ*, i. e. *ha*, "he" and *ya* "who"; and with Vêdic Sanskrit *syas*, but this compound pronoun is always to be found in the Zand Avesta, *Hyâ*, "he who." *Ha* is merely the pronominal root of the Zand *Hu*, "he" third person masc. nom. sing. and *ya* the relative pronoun signifies "who or which," and thus use it in the inscription as a copulative pronoun *Hyâ* "he, who."†

Bumim, "earth," is compared by this learned scholar with the Sanskrit *Bhumim*, but I do not see any reason of comparing this word with the Sanskrit, as it is often found in the Zand Avesta and in exact form *Bumim*, "earth," fem. acc. Sing.‡

Martiyam, "mankind," he has compared with the Sanskrit *Martiyam*, but this word is also so common that in Zand we can easily find the theme *Marêta* "mankind" and the regular acc. sing. we may use as *Marêtem* as *Barentem*.

Akunusha, "created" third pers. sing. of an aorist, formed with the augment *â* and the auxiliary affix *shat* for *shat*, Sanskrit *sat* from the root *Ku* substituted for *Kar*, with the conjugational sign *nu*; comp. the Sanskrit root *Kur* for *Kri*, and mod. Per. *Kun*, to make. In the same tense of the Sanskrit the conjugational sign did not appear.§

The above etymological explanation may be admitted according to the uncertain rule of comparative philology, but we have a most substantial reason to analyse this verb better than the principle of the Sanskrit grammar; the augmented *â* is considered by Mr. Salisbury as an aorist according to the rule of Greek grammar to use before a past-tense of the verb, but in the Zand language we see it is always used as an aorist as well as an inseparable preposition with the verb as *â*, *nî*,

* Zeit. Deut. Mor. 1859, 13 Band III. Heft. p. 393.

† J. A. O. Society, Vol. I., p. 553. ‡ Ibid, p. 553.

§ Ibid, p. 554.

fra. or frâ. as in the following :—*Âkêrēnēm*, “ I created,” *Âgerepta*, “ acquired,” *Âvaedhayēmahî*, “ we invoke,” *Nivaêdhyēmi*, “ I invoke,” *Frasasta*, “ proclaimed,” *Frâkerēntat*, “ he has made or he has created.”

From the above examples I must reduce the word, according to the rule of Zand philology, *âkunusha*, is used in the past tense, signifying “ created” ; *â* is merely an abstract suffix or as an inseparable preposition, and the second etymon “ Ku for kere” is the root “ to make or to do,” and “ *nu*” is the conjugational sign of the past tense of the verb, and affix “ *sha*” is used as a personal termination of the verb as third person singular number, compare with the Zand regular verb *kerenushi*, “ thou makest,” present tense, used in the sense of second person singular, instead of the past tense of the verb in third per. sing.

Parunām, “ of many (people),” gen. plur.* comp with the Zand regular gen. plur. *Puarunarâm* “ of many persons.”†

For the words “ *dahyunām*,” and *hakhamanishiya*, I beg to refer the reader to the foregoing page 27, where I have already compared the above words with the Zand Avesta.

NOTE D. p. 31.

The elaborate work of the Desâtîr was published in Persian and English, in 1818, by the learned Mulla Feroz Bin Kâus in Bombay, and at that time strong objection was urged by the Bengal Critique and others, against the authenticity of the Desâtîr, but Mulla Feroz, the well known Editor of this work, most ably handled the subject, and at last, not only satisfied the literary fraternity of India, but also the members of the several savans on the continent of Europe.‡

The opinion of but very few learned scholars has prevailed that

* J. A. O. S. Vol. I., p. 554.

† Zendavesta by Prof. Westergaard, Vol. I., p. 254 § 34, and Bahrâm Yasht. Kerdê 14.

‡ Asiatic Journal Vol. viii., P. 355, 362 and 584. Vol. ix., P. 115, 123, and the Dabistan or School of Manners. Eng. Trans. Vol. i., Int. P. xix., lxxv.

the language of the Desâtir was a forged one, but no one has yet reviewed this language according to the rule of comparative philology, except the distinguished Baron von Hammer, who deserves the best thanks of the Zoroastrian community, for not only establishing the authenticity of the language, but for having pointed out the deficiencies of the original commentaries.

I must, at the same time, add the name of the learned orientalist, Mr. A. Troyer, who has most ably discussed the matter in regard to the authenticity of the Mahabadian language, after coinciding with the opinion of the most learned orientalist Baron von Hammer, he speaks in the following terms :—*

“ General arguments, opposed to general objections, may produce persuasion, but are not sufficient for establishing the positive truth concerning a subject in question. It is necessary to dive into the Mahabadian language itself for adequate proofs of its genuineness. I might have justly hesitated to undertake this task, but found it already most ably achieved by Baron von Hammer,† in whom we do not know which we ought to admire most, his vast store of Oriental erudition, or the indefatigable activity, with which he diffuses, in an unceasing series of useful works, the various information derived not only from the study of the dead letter in books, but also from the converse with the living spirit of the actual Eastern world. This sagacious reviewer of the Desâtir, examining its language, finds proofs of its authenticity in the nature of its structure and the syllables of its formation, which, when compared to the modern pure Persian or Deri, have the same relation to it as the Gothic to the English ; the old Persian and the old Germanic idioms exhibit in the progress of improvement such a wonderful concordance and analogy as can by no means be the result of an ingenious combination, nor that of a lucky accidental coincidence. Thus, the language of the Desâtir has syllables of declension affixed to pronouns, which coincide with those of the Gothic and Low German, but are not recognisable in the modern form of the Persian pronouns. This is also the case with some forms of numerical and other words.

“ The Mahabadian language contains also a good number of Germa-

* Dabistan. Eng. Trans. Vol. I. P. xlv—xlix.

† See *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur Vom Jänner te Juni 1823*, Nos. 6, 12, 13, 18, 20.

nic radicals which cannot be attributed to the well-known affinity of the German and the modern Persian, because they are no more to be found in the latter, but solely in the Desâtîr. This has besides many English, Greek and Latin words, a series of which Baron von Hammer exhibits, and which ought to be duly noticed, — a considerable number of Mahabadian words, belonging also to the languages enumerated, are sought in vain in any Persian dictionary of our days ! Surely, an accidental coincidence of an invented fictitious language, with Greek, Latin, and Germanic forms would be by far a greater and more inexplicable miracle, than the great regularity of this ancient sacred idiom of Persia, and its conformity with the modern Deri. It is nevertheless from the latter that the forgery is chiefly inferred.

“ Moreover, the acute philologist, analysing the Mahabadian language by itself, points out its essential elements and component parts, that is, syllables of derivation, formation and inflexion. Thus he adduces as syllables of derivation certain vowels, or consonants preceded by certain vowels ; he shows certain recurring terminations to be syllables of formation for substantives, adjectives, and verbs ; he sets forth particular forms of verbs, and remarkable expressions. All this he supports by numerous examples taken from the text of the Desâtîr. Such a process enabled him to rectify in some places the Persian translation of the Mahabadian text.

“ I can but repeat that my only object here is to present the question in the same state that I found it ; and am far from contesting, nay, I readily admit, the possibility of arguments which may lead to a contrary conclusion. Until such are produced, although not presuming to decide, I may be permitted to believe that the language of the Desâtîr is no forgery ; I may range myself on the side of the celebrated Orientalist mentioned, who, ten years after the date of his review of the Desâtîr (ten years which, with him, are a luminous path of ever-increasing knowledge), had not changed his opinion upon the language of the Desâtîr, and assigns to it* a place among the Asiatic dialects ; according to him, as it is more nearly related to the new Persian than to the Zand and the Pehlevi, it may be considered as a new intermediate ring in the hermetic chain which connects the Germanic idioms with the old Asiatic languages ; it is

* See *Journal Asiatique*, tome XII., Juillet 1833, pp 24-26.

perhaps the most ancient dialect of the Deri,* spoken, if not in Fars, yet in the north-eastern countries of the Persian empire, to wit in Sogd and Bamian. When it ceased to be spoken, like several other languages of by-gone ages, the Mahabadian was preserved perhaps in a single book, or fragment of a book, similar in its solitude to the Hebrew Bible, or the Persian Zend-Avesta."

From the above authority, I must consider the language of the Mahâbâdian nation a most ancient one. I have most substantial grounds to say that it was the primitive language of mankind, from the fact, that no words in any of the known languages, either ancient or modern, are to be found in it, but on the contrary, I find, that the Mahabadian language has supplied the roots to the Arian, Semitic, and Turanian families of languages.

Further in 1843, from the original Persian and English translation of the Desâtîr, it was translated into the Guzrati language, and the translator says in his preface as follows :—†

"The learned Mulla Firoz then answered every question with great ability and satisfied the learned world at large who then at last laid their belief on the authenticity of the Desâtîr, and before that the testimony contained in several public works amongst which that by the † "Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings at the public visitation of the College of Fort William on the 15th July 1816, is that which is most highly gratifying to the Editor, not only as being the opinion of a nobleman profoundly conversant with the history and spirit of the East, but as containing a flattering compliment to the Editor himself. Among the literary notices of this year, says the Governor General, there is one, which, although not edited under the immediate auspices of this Institution, or even of this Government, is nevertheless so great a literary curiosity, that I cannot refrain from bringing it forward, by public mention, on this occasion. I allude to that interesting work the Desâtîr, which had

* *Ibidem*, pp. 20-21. Deri was spoken on the other side of the Oxus, and at the foot of the Paropomismus in Balkh, Meru, in the Badakhshan, in Bokhara and Bamian. The Pehlevi was used in Media proper, in the towns of Rai, Hamadan, Ispahan, Nehawend, and Tabriz, the capital of Azârbijân.—Beside the Deri and Pehlevi, Persian dictionaries reckon five other dialects, altogether twelve dialects, of ancient and modern Persian.

† Guzârâtî Translation of the Desâtîr, Pre. P. I.

† "See Preface p. vi of the English Desâtîr."

for some time been hid from the literary world, until a copy was almost accidentally recovered by the learned Chief Priest of the Parsee religion at Bombay. A translation into English and a glossary of the obsolete words have been prepared under the superintendence of the Mulla, and in this state the work is now in the press at that presidency. The Desâtir, which purports to be a collection of the works of the elder Persian prophets, will be peculiarly an object of curiosity with the learned of Europe, as well as of this country, for it is unquestionably the only relique which exists of the literature of that period of Persian history, which is familiar to us from its connection with the history of Greece."

And besides this several other learned Europeans have expressed their opinion most ingeniously as to the authenticity of the Desâtir, such as Sir W. Jones, the President of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, the Honorable Jonathan Duncan, the late Governor of Bombay, Sir John Malcolm, the late Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia, Sir Robert Ker Porter, Sir W. Ouseley, Messrs. Anthony Troyer, and Baron Von Hammer, Members of the Royal and other Asiatic Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, Paris and Calcutta. All these celebrated Orientalists have carefully examined the genuineness of the Desâtir.

From the above opinions of the most learned Orientalists, it appears quite evident, that the language of the Mahabadian Nation deserves the highest credit for its genuineness, and the opinions of such learned men are highly creditable and worth while to be recorded as credentials. No one can deny that the language of Desâtir bears a prominent place amongst all the languages spoken on the face of the earth ; if any learned philologer wishes to satisfy himself on this point, he may just compare the language of Desâtir with the known languages, according to comparative Philology, and he will soon find out the superiority of the Mahabadian language over other languages, and from that fact we can establish that this language existed with the paramount Nation.

Puk'to or Pus'hto language of the Afghans. It is to be regretted that we so often see classical scholars so bold to express their decision at once against the authenticity of this language without examining the principal rules of the language, and the diversity of opinion against the language ; this shows their limited learning in

oriental languages ; in fact, they are quite ignorant of Comparative Philology.

It is well known to orientalists in general, that the Pus'htu language is the most popular language among the Afghans or Patans, and at present is the language spoken by the inhabitants of Kabul.

Regarding it, the learned Professor Max Müller, after coinciding with the valuable opinion of Captain Raverty, expresses his opinion as below :—*

“The Pushtu language is spoken with considerable variation in orthography and pronunciation from the valley of Pishin south of Kandahar to Kafiristan on the north ; and from the banks of the Helmand on the west, to the Attok, Sindhu, or Indus on the east — throughout the Sama or plain of the Yusufzo's, the mountainous districts of Begawar, Pangkora, Suwat, and Bunir, to Astor on the borders of little Tibet—a tract of country equal in extent to the Spanish peninsula.”†

From this no man of learning can assert that the Pus'htu language is fabricated.

The experience of Captain Raverty was followed by that eminent Lexicographer, compiling and publishing a Grammar and a Dictionary of the Puk'htu or Pus'htu language, which in itself is sufficient to satisfy any doubt on the subject, otherwise, how could that orientalist have succeeded in composing a most copious Dictionary, containing forty thousand words, and a Grammar, of the Afghanians language.‡

NOTE E, p. 35.

Sir W. Jones's opinion that all Nations are only colonies of this primitive people of Iran, is most strongly supported in the following terms by Lieut.-General C. Vallancey§ :—

“Since my first attempt to prove, by the ancient history and lan-

* The languages of the Seat of War in the East. 1855, p. 33.

† See Raverty in the Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal No. 244.

‡ I beg most particularly to refer the reader to Captain Raverty's opinion in the Preface and Introduction to his Grammar and Dictionary of the Pus'htu language.

§ Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Coti or Ancient Irish. 1802. Intr. p. i.

guage of Ireland, that the South of Europe was colonized from Iran or Persia, *i. e.* Armenia in the East, and that from Spain those colonists navigated to, and settled in the Western isles, and finally in *Ireland, Mann, and the North of Scotland*, many learned men have taken up the same ground ; particularly our countrymen, Sir W. Jones, Mr. Burrow, Mr. Wilford, and Mr. Hallis, men well learned in all the languages of the East, and finally, the Rev. Mr. Maurice, in his learned works, the *Antiquities of India*, and the *History of Hindostan*. Sir W. Jones, in the Zend and Sanscrit, discovered mention made of an ancient people, that inhabited the empire of *Iran*, or Persia, *much anterior to the Assyrians*, the first nation known to us Europeans ; and that the Egyptians and the Chinese, who have been esteemed the most ancient of all nations, are only colonies of this primitive people of Iran."

Dr. Max Müller, the well-known Sanskrit Scholar and Professor of European Languages at Oxford, who has devoted his time to the modern researches of Comparative Philology, expresses his opinion as follows * :—

" In Europe, the Arian family has sent out five great branches : the Celtic, Teutonic, Italic, Hellenic, and Slavonic or Windic."

From this expression of Professor Max Müller it is quite evident that Iran or Arian is the primitive land of mankind for which I refer the reader to the succeeding note G, where I have fully treated of the subject.

NOTE F, p. 38.

How many parts of speech there are in the Zand Avesta and in the Vedic Sanskrit has not yet been decided by Philologists. In ancient times the Indian Grammarians designated four classes of words,† but the newly discovered science of Comparative Philology and the modern investigation of the Continental Philologists have distinguished more than nine sorts of words which are commonly called Parts of Speech, such as Substantive verb, Pronominal adjective, Pronominal adverb, and Copulative pronoun, etc. ; and we still see by the help of

* Max Müller's Survey of Languages. 1855. p. 36.

† Prof. Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 161.

Comparative Philology that the philological nomenclature of several words is being daily extended. We have no complete grammar except Professor Bopp's Comparative Grammar and Benfey's Grammar* to decide as to how many sorts of words there are in both languages.

It will appear to the reader from the following example that the grammatical construction of the Zand Avesta, is not only superior to the classical Sanskrit, but that also a more comprehensive form of words is to be found in the Zand Avesta than in the Vedic Sanskrit, which facts have been well established by the most learned Philologist, Professor Bopp in his Comparative Grammar.

In the Zand Avesta the demonstrative pronoun *ava* "that or this" is also used in the sense of a preposition. But in the Sanskrit, it is only used as a preposition, and the sense of pronoun is totally lost.†

Here I beg to quote the example from the work of that great philologist, Professor Bopp.‡

"I refer the reader preliminarily to my two last treatises (Berlin, Ferd. Dümmler) "On Certain Demonstrative Bases, and their connection with various Prepositions and Conjunctions," and "On the Influence of Pronouns on the Formation of Words." Compare, also, C. Gottl. Schmidt's excellent tract "Quæst. Gramm. de Præpositionibus Græcis," and the review of the same, distinguished by acute observations, by A. Benary, in the Berlin Annual (May 1830). If we take the adverbs of place in their relations to the prepositions—and a near relation does exist—we shall find in close connection with the subject a remarkable treatise of the minister W. von Humboldt, "on the Affinity of the Adverbs of Place to the Prepositions in certain languages." The Zand has many grammatical rules which were established without these discoveries, and have since been demonstrated by evidence of facts. Among them it was a satisfaction to me to find a word, used in Sanskrit only as a preposition (*ava*, "from,") in the Zand a perfect and declinable pronoun (§. 172.) Next we find *Sa-cha*, "*isque*," which in Sanskrit is only a pronoun, in its Zend

* I was first informed by Mr. Muir's work of Benfey's Complete Sanscrit Grammar; unfortunately I have not the opportunity of seeing that work. See original Sanskrit Texts, pt. II; p. 491, note 28.

† Professor Bopp Comparative Gram. Eng. Trans. vol. II. p. 530, § 377.

‡ Ibid. vol. I., Pre. p. xvi. Note.

shape **ह्य** *ha-cha* (§. 53.), often used as a preposition to signify “out of;” the particle **च** *cha* “and,” loses itself, like the cognate *que* in *absque*, in the general signification.”

NOTE G, p. 38.

The words *Airyānām Vācju* and *Arya-āvarta*. I have already discussed in the previous pages of this work and I then distinctly pointed out the primitive claim of the Zoroastrian *Airyas* for their original country more than for the Brahmanic *Aryas*; and so far it has been positively ascertained that the Hindus’ own Vedas and Puranas which do not show that *Arya* was their primitive abode like the pure *Arians* of the Zand Avesta, the Perso-Medians, Bactrians and Soghdians. Now with this remark I beg to refer the reader to the opinion of my learned friend Dr. Wilson,* who has clearly pointed out what the *Aryas* were in the time of the Vedas, and these remarks are sufficient to render any attempt at explanation or addition unnecessary as the following remarks are sufficient in themselves to explain this.

Further then, it is interesting to observe what the learned Council of the Sanskrit Literature says on this head. The printing of this work had nearly been completed when I received Mr. Max Müller’s work, and in justice to the cause of Indo-Arians I think it is quite fair to quote the opinion of the most able advocate of the Vedas and Sanskrit Literature, who speaks as follows :—†

“*Arya* is a Sanskrit word, and in the later Sanskrit it means *noble, of a good family*. It was, however, originally a national name, and we see traces of it as late as the Law-book of the Mānavas, where India is still called *Ārya-āvarta*, the abode of the *Āryas*.‡ In the old Sanskrit, in the hymns of the Veda, *ārya* occurs frequently as a national name and as a name of honour, comprising the worshippers of the gods of the Brahmins, as opposed to their enemies, who are called in the Veda *Dasyus*. Thus one of the gods, *Indra*, who, in some respects, answers to the Greek *Zeus*, is invoked in the following words (Rigveda, I. 57, 8) : “ Know thou the Aryas, O Indra, and those who

* India Three Thousand Years Ago, of 1858, p. 17—19.

† Lectures on the Science of Language, of 1861, p. 224—226.

‡ “*Arya-bhūmi* and *Arya-desā* are used in the same sense.”

are Dasyus ; punish the lawless, and deliver them unto thy servant ! Be thou the mighty helper of the worshippers, and I will praise all these thy deeds at the festivals."

In the later dogmatic literature of the Vedic age, the name of *Ārya* is distinctly appropriated to the three first castes—the Brahman, Kshatriyas, Vais̥yas—as opposed to the fourth, or the Śūdras. In the Śātapatha-Brāhmaṇa it is laid down distinctly : "Āryas are only the Brahman, the Kshatriyas, and Vais̥yas, for they are admitted to the sacrifices. They shall not speak with everybody, but only with the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and the Vais̥ya. If they should fall into a conversation with a Śūdra, let them say to another man, 'Tell this Śūdra so.' This is the law."

"In the Atharva-veda (iv., 20, 4 ; xix. 62, 1) expressions occur such as, "seeing all things, whether Śūdra, or Ārya," where Śūdra and Ārya are meant to express the whole of mankind.

This word *ārya* with a long *ā* is derived from *arya* with a short *a*, and this name *arya* is applied in the later Sanskrit to a *Vais̥ya*, or a member of the third caste.* What is called the third class must originally have constituted the large majority of the Brahmanic society, for all who were not soldiers or priests, were Vais̥yas. We may well understand, therefore, how a name, originally applied to the cultivators of the soil and householders, should in time have become a general name for all Aryans.† Why the householders were called *arya* is a question which would carry us too far at present. I can only state that the etymological signification of *Arya* seems to be "one who ploughs or tills," and that it is connected with the root of *arare*. The Aryans would seem to have chosen this name for themselves as opposed to the nomadic races, the *Turanians*, whose original name, *Tura* implies the swiftness of the horseman."

From the above explanation I do not find any thing new except the Law-book of the Mānavas to alter my opinion, because these

* Pān. iii. I, 103.

† In one of the Vedas, *arya* with a short *a* is used like *ārya*, as opposed to Śūdra. For we read (Vāj-San. XX. 17) : "Whatever sin we have committed in the village, in the forest, in the home, in the open air, against a Śūdra, against an Ārya,—thou art our deliverance."

expressions have already been mentioned in the *Edinburgh Review* ;* and I have expressed my opinion in previous pages† in respect of them.

From the above opinion of this learned orientalist we can deduce the following significations : 1. “ *Arya* is a Sanskrit word, and in the later Sanskrit it means *noble, of a good family*.” 2. “ We see traces of it as late as the Law-book of the Mānavas, where India is still called *Ārya avarta*, the “ abode of the Aryas.”‡ 3. In the old Sanskrit, in the hymns of the Veda, *arya* occurs frequently as a national name and as a name of honour, comprising the worshippers of the Gods of the Brahmans, as opposed to their enemies, who are called in the Vedas *Dasyus*. 4. In the later dogmatic literature of the Vedic age, the name of *Arya* is distinctly appropriate to the three first castes—the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas—as opposed to the fourth or the Sûdras. 5. In the Satapatha-Brâhmana, it is laid down distinctly *Āryas* are only the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. 6. In the Atharva-Veda (iv. 20, 4, xix. 62, 1) expressions occur such as, “ seeing all things, whether Sûdra or *Arya*,” hence Sûdra and *Arya* are meant to express the whole of “ mankind.”

I think the learned orientalist has overlooked the Puranas ; because it is distinctly mentioned as follows :—§

“ As far as the sea to the east and sea to the west between these two mountains, lies the country which the intelligent know as *Ārya-avarta*. 2. Manu II. 22.”

The testimonies of the Vedas and Puranas are both insignificant to point out the real geographical position of *Ārya-avarta*. We see the Mānavas have no authority to designate *Ārya-avarta* to be India-*Proper*, and the Purana’s authority, when we compare it with the Vedas, is no more than a fable written by a classical Sanskrit scholar in contradiction to the Vedas. In the Vedas this patronymic name is used as a national name of the Brahmanic classes and for others. In one case we must admit that the Hindus as well as other European nations have a claim upon *Aryana Vâjju* in the common form of *Ārya-*

* *Edinburgh Review* of 1851, Vol. 94, P. 315.

† Vide p. 41—42 of the above.

‡ *Ārya-bhumi* and *Ārya-desá* are used in the same sense.

§ J. R. A. S. G. B. & L., Vol. xvi., p. 141.

avarta as their paternal birth-place, and the Hindus are not the autochthonous nations of India, but mere foreign settlers. In fact, the Vedas show no authority in their favour for *Ārya avarta*, for its strict etymological signification or geographical position which the learned Max Müller acknowledges in the following words :—*

“ In India, as we saw, the name of *Ārya*, as a national name, fell into oblivion in later times, and was preserved only in the term *Aryā-varta*, the abode of the Aryans.”

The above allusion of Professor Max Müller, forced us to believe that the name *Ārya avarta* has fallen into oblivion in later times amongst Hindus ; but there is no mention made in the oldest text of the Vedas that *Ārya varta* was the primal birth-place of the Hindus, and in the latter Sanskrit Literature whatever they stated regarding the *Ārya varta* was no doubt borrowed from Persian authorities by classical Sanskrit scholars. In proof of this I shall offer here some testimonies to satisfy the literary world.

According to the doctrine of the Zand Avesta *Airyanēm Vaēju* was the primal seat of mankind, and from the most ancient times this epithet was preserved as a national name of the Iranians, not only in sacred records but also on the tablet of the great Monument of Persepolis and this honourable title was used by almost all the Persian Kings, which is enthusiastically received by the modern Zoroastrians who are designated as *Arian* descendants. These facts have *prima facie* evidences from the sacred records of the Zoroastrians as well as from the monumental relics. The ancient traditions are preserved in the Zand Avesta, that the primitive abode of happiness is called *Airyanēm Vaēju*, “ the Arian source or Arian birth-place,”† and in point of Comparative Philology the word *Airyu* stands in more primitive form than in any other Arian-European languages. In the Zand Avesta the etymological significations of the above word are as follows :—The venerable, noble, believer, honourable title, name of the land or people, celestial descendant and the worshipper of Ormazd. With respect to the geographical position of *Airyanēm-Vaēju*, I would refer the reader to the succeeding page, note I. and to the following remarks of Max Müller. It will be interesting to

* Lectures on the Science of Language, 1861, p. 226.

† In the first Fargard of the Vandidad.

the reader to perceive what the learned Professor Max Müller says regarding the Perso-Aryans or Iranians :—*

“ But it was more faithfully preserved by the Zoroastrians who migrated from India to the north-west, and whose religion has been preserved to us in the Zend-Avesta, though in fragments only. Now *Airya* in Zend means venerable, and is at the same time the name of the people.† In the first chapter of the Vendidad, where Ahuramazda explains to Zarathustra the order in which he created the earth, sixteen countries are mentioned, each when created by Ahuramazda, being pure and perfect ; but each being afterwards tainted in turn by Angromainyus or Ahriman. Now the first of these countries is called *Airyānem vaējō*, *Arianam semen*, the Aryan seed, and its position must have been as far east as the western slopes of the Belurtag and Mustag, near the sources of the Oxus and Yaxartes, the highest elevation of Central Asia.‡ From this country, which is called their seed, the Aryans advanced towards the south and west, and in the Zend-avesta the whole extent of country occupied by the Aryans is likewise called *Airyā*. A line drawn from India along the Paropamisus and Caucasus Indicus in the east, following in the north the direction between the Oxus and Yaxartes,§ then running along the Caspian Sea, so as to include Myrcania and Rāgha, then turning South-east on the borders of Nisāça, Ariā (i. e. Haria), and the countries washed by the Etymandrus and Arachotus, would indicate the general horizon of the Zoroastrian world. It would be what is called in the fourth Cardé of the Yasht of Mithra; “ the whole space of Ariā,” *vîspem airyō—sāyanem* (totum Ariæ situm.)|| Opposed to the Aryan we find in the Zend-avesta the non-Aryan countries (anairyāo dainhāvō),¶ and traces of this name are found

* Lectures on the Science of Language, p. 226—230.

† Lassen, Ind. Alt. b. i. s. 6.

‡ Lassen, Ind. Alt. b. i. s. 526.

§ Ptolemy knows Ariākai, near the mouth of the Yaxartes. Ptol. vi. 14 ; Lassen, loc. cit. i. 6.

|| Burnouf, Yasna, notes, 61. In the same sense the Zend-avesta uses the expression Aryan provinces, “*airyanām daqyunām*” gen. plur., or *airyāo dainhāvō*, provincias Ariānas, Burnouf, Yasna, 442 ; and Notes, P. 70.

¶ Burnouf, Notes, P. 62.

in the (Gr.) Anariakai, a people and town on the frontiers of Hyrcania.* Greek geographers use the name of Ariana in a wider sense even than the Zend-avesta. All the country between the Indian Ocean in the south and the Indus in the east, the Hindu-kush and Paropamisus in the north, the Caspian Gates, Karamania, and the mouth of the Persian Gulf in the west, is included by Strabo (xv. 2) under the name of Ariana; and Bactria is thus called† by him “the ornament of the whole of Ariana.” As the Zoroastrian religion spread westward, Persia, Elymais and Media all claimed for themselves the Aryan title. Hellenicus, who wrote before Herodotus, knows of Aria as a name of Persia.‡ Herodotus (vii. 62) attests that the Medians called themselves Aroi; and even for Atropatene, the northernmost part of Media, the name of Ariana (not Aria) has been preserved by Stephanus Byzantinus. As to Elymais its name has been derived from *Ailama*, a supposed corruption of *Airyama*.§ The Persians, Medians, Bactrians and Sogdians all spoke, as late as the time of Strabo,|| nearly the same language, and we may well understand, therefore, that they should have claimed for themselves one common name, in opposition to the hostile tribes of Turan.

That *Aryan* was used as a title of honour in the Persian empire is clearly shown by the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius. He calls himself *Ariya* and *Airya-chitra*, and Aryan and of Aryan descent; and Ahuramazda, or, as he is called by Darius, Auramazda, is rendered in the Turanian translation of the inscription of Behistun, “the God of the Aryans.” Many historical names of the Persians contain the same element. The great-grandfather of Darius is called in the inscriptions Ariyârâmnâ, the Greek *Ariaramnês*

* Strabo, xi. 7, 11. Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 19, Ptol. vi. 2. De Saey, *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, p. 48. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. 6.

† Strabo, xi. 11.; Burnouf, *Notes*, p. 110. “In another place Eratosthenes is cited as describing the western boundary to be a line separating Parthiène from Media and Karmania from Parætakène and Persia, thus taking in Yezd and Kerma, but excluding Fars.”—Wilson *Ariana antiqua*, p. 120.

‡ Hellenicus fragm. 166, ed. Müller, *Aria Persikè Chora*.

§ Joseph Müller, *Journal Asiatique* 1839, p. 298. Lassen, loc. cit. i. 6. From this Elam of Genesis, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. p. 623.

|| Heeren, *Ideen* i., p. 337, oméggluttoi pará mikrón. Strabo. p. 1054.

(Herod. VII. 90). Ariobarzanēs (*i. e.* Euergetēs), Ariomanes (*i. e.* Eumenēs), Ariomardos, all show the same origin.*

About the same time as these inscriptions, Eudemos, a pupil of Aristotle, as quoted by Nicolaus Damascenus, speaks of "the Magi and the whole Aryan race,"† evidently using the Aryan in the same sense in which the Zend-avesta, spoke of "the whole country of Aria."

And when after years of foreign invasion and occupation, Persia rose again under the sceptre of the Sassanians to be a national kingdom, we find the new national kings the worshippers of Masdanes, calling themselves, in the inscriptions deciphered by De Sacy,‡ "Kings of the Aryan and un-Aryan races;" in Pehlvi, *Irân va Anirân*; in Greek Ariánon kai Anariánon.

The modern name of Irân for Persia still keeps up the memory of this ancient title.

In the name of *Armenia* the same element of *Arya* has been supposed to exist.§ The name of Armenia, however, does not occur in Zend, and the name *Armenia*, which is used for Armenia in the cuneiform inscriptions is of doubtful etymology.|| In the language of Armenia, *ari* is used in the widest sense for Aryan or Iranian; it means also brave, and is applied more especially to the Medians.¶ The word *arya*, therefore, though not contained in the name of Armenia, can be proved to have existed in the Armenian language, as a national and honourable name."

The learned orientalist speaks of "the Zoroastrians who migrated

* One of the Median classes is called Arizantoi, which may be *ârya-jantu*. Herod. i. 101.

† *Mágoi dé kai pân tó Areion génos.*—*Nicolaus Damascenus*, in libro *Perí archôn initio*.

‡ De Sacy, *Mémoire*, p. 47; Lassen, *Ind. Alt. I.* 8.

§ Burnouf, *Notes*, 107. Anquetil had no authority for taking the Zend *airyamau* for *Armenia*.

|| Bochart shows (*Phaleg.* I I, c. 3, col. 20) that the Chaldee paraphrast renders the *Miní* of Jeremiah by *Har Mini*, and as the same country is called *Minyas* by Nicolaus Damascenus, he infers that the first syllable is the Semitic *Har*, a mountain—(see Rawlinson's *Glossary*, s. v.)

¶ Lassen, *Ind. Alt. I.* 8, Note. *Arikkh* also is used in Armenian as the name of the Medians and has been referred by Jos. Müller to *Aryaka*, as a name of Media. *Journ. As.* 1829, p. 298. If, as Quatremère says, *ari* and *anari* are used in Armenian for Medians and Persians, this can only be ascribed to a misunderstanding, and must be a phrase of later date.

from India to the north-west," which assertion is contrary to all probability and common sense even will never admit it, because we see "The tradition of their exodus and gradual colonization of Eastern Persia are preserved in the first Fargard of the Vendidad, where their primitive abode is named *Airyanem Vaejû*, the source (or native land) of the Arians."*

This opinion of the learned Sir C. H. Rawlinson is universally admitted by the Continental Orientalists† and they acknowledge Hindus migrated from the Eastern Iran into India, this fact we can also prove from the authority of several great Orientalists.‡

If the learned orientalist thinks that the Zoroastrians migrated from India, he must prove his own theory from their sacred records or from monumental reliqs, because there is not a single example or historical account to support Max Müller's opinion; besides there is no ancient trace or remnant to be found in India from the Himalya to the Vindhya mountains, that the Zoroastrians formerly existed in India, on the contrary I can prove from indisputable monumental records, previous to the time of Christ that such was not the case.

Regarding this ancient testimony I would refer the reader to Dr. T. Hyde's Work in which we see that previous to the time of Zoroaster the symbolical worship of Fire was solemnized on the tops of mountains in Persia, and was open to all Iranian nations. The Persian Prophet Zoroaster ordered the Sacred Fire to be preserved from tempest and rain, and also commanded that it should be enclosed for symbolical purposes.§ From the above and several other facts it is quite apparent that the Arians are the most predominant nation of Eastern Iran.

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I., Vol. XI., Part I., p. 44.

† Burnouf's *Com. Sur Le Yagna*; Tom. I., p. 326, 460, Note 325, p. LXII. Prichard's *Natural History of Man*, p. 165. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 121—122. Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Vol. I., p. 88—60—208, N. 3, p. 209—210. W. Ouseley's *Travels in the East*, Vol. I., p. 428.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 2 p. 49—58. Hayland's *History of the World*, Vol. 1. p. 306—307. India three thousand years ago, p. 17—22 and see p. 40—48 of the above.

§ *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum* 1760, P. 307 and 359, 375. Plates. Vaux's *Niniveh and Persepolis*, P. 332.

It is unnecessary to discuss this interesting subject in this appendix at greater length, because I have already prepared a vast amount of material for my work on the origin of the Iranian Nation ; by which I hope to prove beyond doubt that the Iranians were the ancestors of the human race, and that the Hindus and other Arian nations are only our younger brothers.

I have the intention to treat on this subject in a separate volume under the following titles :—

1.) Geographical Position. 2.) Ethnographical Division. 3.) Historical Accounts. 4.) Sacred Records. 5.) Monumental Relics. 6.) Chronological Data, and 7.) The Sure Testimony of Languages.

From the preceding observations it will be obvious to the reader that the Sanskrit has no claim whatsoever, on the Zand Avesta, but on the contrary the Sanskrit has borrowed several words from the Zand Avesta such as the proper names of kings, heroes, provinces, things &c., which have been compared by the Continental Orientalists with the Vadic Sanskrit as below :—*

ZAND AVESTA.	VADIC SANSKRIT.
Airyānēṃ Vaēju.	Arya-āvarta.
Hapta Hindu.	Sapta Sindhava.
Bakhda.	Bahlika.
Vivanghat.	Vivasvat.
Yima.	Yama.
Thraētaonu.	Thraitano.
Keresāapa.	Krisāsva.
Kava-Us.	Kava-Us.
Homa.	Soma.
Mithra.	Mitra.
Vayu.	Varuna.

The comparison of these and several other words stand in juxtaposition, but the Continental Philologists have not as yet decided whether the Vedas have derived these words from the Zand Avesta or whether the Zand Avesta has derived them from the Vedas.

* Rig. Veda. Sanhita 1850, Vol. I., P. 141—143, Note A. Max Müller's Survey of Languages of 1855, P. 27—29 Note.* Journal B. B. R. A. S. of 1853, Vol. IV., P. 216, 241. Ibid, Vol. V. P. 77, 94. Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, Part II., P. 289, 296. Outlines of the Phi. Uni. His. Vol. I. P. 123—125.

I think the former theory is the most probable. In the Vedas, Yama, signifies the King of the Dead, and in the Zand Avesta, Yima, means a king, but whether we are to believe the mythical account of the Veda, or the Mythological account of the Zand Avesta, remains to be seen. So much is certain that the Mythological account agrees with historical facts which can be established from historical researches, as well as from the undisputable monumental records. That the renowned Yima was the sole monarch of the vast Empire of Iran, is obvious from the fact of the monumental relics which still exist in Persia by the celebrated name of Takhtê-Jâmshêd ; *i. e.* Throne of Jemshêd.*

The etymology of this Persian word quite coincides with the Zand Avesta, Yimu Khshaçtu, *i. e.*, Yima the brilliant, and according to the Persian language Jamshêd has the same meaning.† It is well known amongst the Persians, Arabians, and Turanians, that this Jamshêd was the great founder of Astronomical observations and regulated the solar year, which he fixed at the vernal equinox.‡ This annual festival is performed by the Persians, Arabians and Turanians, to this day, under the name of Jemshedi Nowrôz.

These facts are known in the annals of Persian and Mahomedian Histories, from which the existence of that celebrated Persian monarch is evident. Let the learned Scholars compare the Yama of the Vedas and Puranas, and then decide to whom the credit should be given. Here I beg to quote my learned friend Revd. Dr. Murray Mitchell's opinion which has been most minutely discussed. He expresses his valuable opinion as follows :—§

“ Should this identification of Yama and Yimo be permanently retained, (and, startling as the divergencies become, there is little doubt that the connection traced by Dr. Roth is correct,) it is worth while to note that the conception of Yimo in the Zendavesta and later Persian books remains truer to the original idea than that

* Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol. I., P. 430 and Note (131.) See Hagaman's Monumenti Persipolitani e Ferdusis Illustratio. Götting 1801.

† Eng. Trans. of the Dabistan, Vol. I., P. 31, Note I., and Ouseley's Travels in the East., Vol. II., P. 369.

‡ Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol. II., P. 15, Note (9.)

§ J. B. B. R. A. S., 1853., Vol. iv., P. 227.

which is presented in the Vedas. Yimo, the ruler of a blessed period ; the teacher—himself divinely taught—of men ; the inhabitant of a blessed region or paradise on earth,—this description of *the first man* is singularly like that contained in Genesis, and would seem no indistinct echo of the inspired record. Various questions of course immediately suggest themselves as to the age of the Zendavasta, and the purity of the text, before we can base any very positive conclusions on this coincidence ; but the point is eminently worthy of investigation.”

From these circumstances it will be quite evident to the learned, how ingeniously the Vedas have changed the actual Historical facts of the Zand Avesta into mythological accounts. If we compare several words of the Zand Avesta and of the Vedas in like manner it will be too lengthy to discuss in this small brochure, therefore I shall hope to take notice of this interesting subject on some future opportunity, in the meanwhile I refer the reader to the European authorities whose opinions mostly differ in some points.

In regard to the Zand *Homa*, and Sanskrit *Soma* it is most interesting to observe how ingeniously the Sanskrit writers have changed the Zand *h* into *s*, like the Armenian changing Zand *z* into *s* for which I would refer the intelligent reader to the previous page 50—52, where I have discussed the words Hindu and Sindhu.

NOTE H, p. 41.

The word *Ârya-âvarta* is designated in the modern Sanskrit as India, and the Sanskritic Scholars have used *Arya-Bhumi*, *Arya desa*,* *Brahmâ-varta*, *Bharatâ-khund* and *Hindusthan* or *India Proper* in the same sense, but there is no ancient testimony to prove even from the Vedas that the term *Ârya-âvarta* is used as the name of India ; *Ârya-âvarta* is merely derived from the truer form of *Aryana-vaêju* of the pure Arian.

Mr. Curzon, who took a most active part in this discussion, is of opinion as Mr. Muir says “ that India was the original country of the Indo-European races from which they issued to conquer, occupy, and

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I., 1849, Vol. XI., Pt. I., p. 44, N. 3 Lectures on the Science of Language, p. 224, N.

civilize the countries to the north-west, is stated together with some of the arguments by which he supports it.”*

First of all Mr. Curzon ought to have decided whether the Hindus were an autochthonous or a foreign nation ; the most learned advocate of the Hindus acknowledges that the Indians are no more than merely Aric-settlers, and that they are not an autochthonous nation.

The learned Orientalist stated as follows :—†

“At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Aryan tribes migrating across the snow of the Himâlaya southward toward the “Seven Rivers” (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjâb and the Sarasvatî), and ever since India has been called their home.”

These opinions are strongly corroborated by Lassen, Benfey, Schlegel, Weber, Roth, Spiegel, Renan, Pictel, Dr. Wilson and Muir. The latter Orientalist has ably handled the subject, and at last he expresses his firm conviction as follows :—‡

“The point of departure which best satisfies this condition, is in the opinion of the eminent writers whom I have cited, some region of central Asia, lying to the north-west of India. We may therefore place the cradle of the Arians in or near Bactria.”

These facts prove at once that the Aric-Hindus and the Aric-Europeans both migrated* into India and into Europe from their primitive abode of paradise, the† Airyana-Vaêju or Eastern Iran, and we see, this point is not only established from the sacred records of the Zoroastrians, but also from the scientific researches of Comparative Philology. Almost all learned Orientalists have un-animously agreed upon this point, therefore Mr. Curzon’s theory requires no refutation.§

NOTE I, p. 47.

According to the sacred record of the Vendidâd and the tradition of the Zoroastrians, the primeval country is Airyanem Vaêju and

* Muir’s Original Sanskrit Texts, Pt. II., Pre. p. xv.

† A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 12.

‡ Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, Pt. II., P. 322.

§ See Muir’s valuable opinion on this subject in his interesting works, Part II., P. 304, 322.

this sacred testimony is strongly supported by the investigations of the learned men of the present time. They all agree in confirming this view, viz., that the Airyanē Vaejū is the primitive home of the whole of the Arian nations ; and that from thence people migrated into the several parts of the World, and that they carried with them their languages as well as their religions. In regard to the geographical position of Airyanē Vaejū I beg to quote the valuable authority of Baron Bunsen who says :—*

THE JOURNEYS OF THE IRANIANS FROM THE NORTH-EASTERN PARTS OF ASIA TO INDIA.

• PART I.

“ The Primeval Land (Iran Proper, Airyana Vaejō), And The
Expulsion from it of the Arians.

The text of the opening of this record, as restored, removes all doubt as to the following passage containing the genuine description of the climate of the primeval land, Iran Proper :

“ There Anglo mainyus (Ahriman), the deadly, created a mighty serpent, and snow, the work of Deva—ten months of winter are there, two months of summer.”

•

The following passage, which is irreconcilable with the above :

“ the warm weather lasts seven months,
and winter five,” &c.

was added on by a later editor, traces of whose ignorant tampering are discernible throughout. In fact, the passage is omitted in the Huzdresh, or Pehlevi translation—and Lassen, in his *Indian Archaeology*²⁰¹, has given it as his opinion that it is an interpolation.

The Fathers of the Arians (and consequently our own, as we speak the same language) originally, therefore, inhabited aboriginal Iran Proper, the land of pleasantness, and they only left it in consequence of a convulsion of nature, by which a great alteration in the climate was effected. The expression “ Serpent ” is obscure. It may possibly mean volcanic eruptions, which can only have played a

* Egypt's place in Universal History, Vol. III., P. 459—461.

“ 201 I. 526 note.”

•

subordinate part in the great convulsion, although they made a permanent impression.

The country of the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, therefore, is the most eastern and most northern point from which we have to start, as the land of the sources of the Euphrates formed the primeval seat of the Semitic races. Wherever the Indians may have fixed the dwelling-places of their northern ancestors, the UTTARA-KURU we cannot venture to place the primeval seats of the Arians anywhere, but on the slopes of the Belur-Tagh, in the highland of Pamer, between the 40th and 37th degrees of N. latitude, and 86th and 90th degrees of longitude. On this western slope of the Belur-Tagh and the Mustagh (the *Tian-shang*, or Celestial Mountain of the Chinese) the *Harô-berezaiti* (Albordsh) is likewise to be looked for, which is invoked (symbolically) in the Zendavesta, as the principal mountain and the primeval source of the waters. Lassen has remarked (loc. cit.) that at the present day the old indigenous inhabitants of that district, and generally those of Khasgar, Yarkand, Khoten, Turfan, and the adjacent highlands are Tadshiks who speak Persian, and who are all agriculturists. The Turcomans either came after them and settled at a later period, or else they are aborigines whom the Arians found there.

When the climate was altered by some vast disturbance of nature, the Arians emigrated; they did not, however, follow the course of the Oxus, or they would have come in the first instance to Bactria and not to Sogd. Their course, therefore, was more northerly.

As regards its present climate, it is precisely what our record describes it as having been when the change produced by the above commotion took place, it has only two months of warm weather."

The above opinion is not only held by Bunsen but was also expressed by many learned Orientalists such as Professor Burnouf,* Professor Lassen,† Professor Wilson,‡ Dr. Haug, Professor Müller,§ and others.

* Burnouf Commentaire Annotations.

† Ind. Alt., Vol. I., P. 526.

‡ Arina Antique, P. 122, 129.

§ Lectures on the Science of Language, P. 226.

NOTE J, p. 51.

In the Sacred Scriptures of the Zoroastrians, Ormuzd is said to have created the fiftenth country Haptu-Hendu, i. e. "Seven Indias"* which is most correctly interpreted in the Brahmanical Vedas, Sapta Sindhavas,† the seven rivers, the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjab, and the Sarasvati, and ever since these have been the abode of the first Arian-Settlers. From these evidences it is quite apparent that Sapta Sindhavas or Panjkora, is not the birth place of the Hindus but on the contrary is distinctly pointed out as a foreign soil to the Arian Indians.

The above seven rivers with others are invoked in the Vedas and no mention is made that the Hindus are the autochthonous nation of India proper, therefore I think it is unjust to compare Haptu-Hendu and Sapta Sindhavas in their strict sense with India Proper, because the seven rivers were only the primitive home of the Arian-Hindu settlers.

These opinions are firmly established by mythological as well as Historical accounts by several eminent Orientalists such as Professor C. Lassen, Professor Müller, Professor H. H. Wilson, Baron Bunsen, Dr. Wilson and Mr. J. Muire.

It is desirable here to quote Baron Bunsen's authority.‡

" 14. The Settlement in Haptu-Hendu (Punjab), (XV. verse 19.) The land of the seven Hindu's, that is, the country between the Indus and Sutledj. In the Vedas the country of the Five Rivers is also called the Land of the seven Sindhús, that is, the seven Rivers. The traditional Greek names also are seven. The Indus and the Sutledj are each formed ²⁰³ by the junction of two arms,

* Egypt's Place in Universal History Vol. III., P. 490. Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Panton von Dr. F. Spiegel Vol. I., P. 66. Heeren's Historical Researches Vol. II., P. 315.

† Wilson's Rig-Veda, Vol. I., P. 88 ; Dr. Wilson's India Three Thousand Years Ago, P. 21, 27.

‡ Egypt's Place in Universal History. Vol. III., P. 465-466.

²⁰³

According to this view, it stands thus :

- | | | |
|---|---|----------------|
| 1. Kophen (Kubhâ)..... | } | I. Indus. |
| 2. Indus, Upper..... | | |
| 3. Hydaspes (Bidaspes) | } | II. Hydaspes. |
| 4. Akesines (Askini)..... | | |
| 5. Hyarotis (Hydraotis, Iravati, Parusni) | } | III. Akesines. |
| 6. Hyphasis (Vipasa.)..... | | |
| 7. Saranges (Upper Satadru—Sutledj Ghara)..... | | IV. Hydraotes. |
| | | Hyphasis. |

which in their earlier course were independant rivers. But it is not only unnecessary to suppose, as Ritter does, that the country extended as far as the Sarasvati, but such a supposition would be at variance with History. It is now ascertained from the Vedas that the Arians passed the Sutledj at a very late period and settled in what is now India.

"It was not till their fourteenth Settlement, after the emigration from the primitive country in the North, that they passed the Hindu-kush and the Indus. The previous resting-places form an unbroken chain of the primitive above of the Arians (the Free or the Land-owners).²⁰⁴ The last link in these earlier settlements is the land of the Afghans, on the western slope of the Hindhu-Kush. Lower down to, the westward there is but one settlement necessary to secure their previous possessions, namely, the two districts of Ghilan and Masandaran, with the passes of the Caspian. This settlement more to the North-West (Ghilan and Masandaran) forms therefore also a connected group."

NOTE K, p. 59,

The true epoch of Zoroaster, I believe to be the fourth century B. C., from the following super-natural evidences of the Eastern and Western writers which most strongly coincide with each other.

From the authority of Zarthosht-Nama it is said in Dabistan.*

"Zaradusht, on issuing forth into the abode of existence laughed aloud at the moment of his birth."

The Eastern testimony is most naturally coincided in by Pliny and Solinus in the following words.†

"We find it stated that Zoroaster was the only human being who ever laughed on the same day on which he was born. We

²⁰⁴ Arya, in Indian means Lord. Its original meaning was equivalent to Upper Noble. The popular name Arja is derived from it, and means, "Descended from a Noble." I will only add that Ari in Egyptian means "honourable" (in Nefruari). But ar might mean to plough; for the Arians were originally and essentially an agricultural, and therefore a peasant, race.

* Dabistan or School of Manners Eng. Trans. Vol. I, P. 218, N. I.

† Pliny's Natural History, Eng. Trans. of 1855, Vol. ii. P. 155.

hear, too, that his brain pulsated so strongly that it repelled the hand when laid upon it, a presage of his future wisdom."

From these Eastern and Western testimonies there is not the slightest doubt that the Zoroaster spoken of, is no one than the well-known Prophet³ of the Perso-Medo Backtrian Nations because the identity of Zoroaster is quite evident.

The learned Orientalist Mulla Feroz and Dastur Aspendyârjî Kamdînji of Broach place the era of Zoroaster to the fourth century B. C. from oriental authorities which are most strongly supported by the Occidental testimonies of Greek writers ; I shall here quote several of them.

"The most ancient mention of the name of Zoroaster in Greek books is to be found in the works of Plato, and dates therefore from the fourth century before our era."^{*}

Sir W. Ouseley mentions in his valuable work from the authority of Agathias as follows.†

"The prophet, however, or legislator, whose name we find written in Persian books, Zardehusht, or Zaratusht, is manifestly that Zoroaster, whom the Greek historian Agathias calls *Zoroados*, or *Zarades*, and justly assigns to the age of King Hystaspes, preceding Christ by about five hundred years."⁽²¹⁾

Mr. D. Sheà writes in the following words.‡

"Diogenes, cited by Porphyry, says that Pythagoras, (about 5 cent. B. C.) when in Babylon, was instructed by Zabratius." (Zoroaster.)

Mr. J. Conder, speaks from the same Greek authority.§

"The Greeks held the name of Zoroaster in high esteem. Pythagoras is said to have been his scholar."

Mr. A. Troyer positively mentions.||

"In the fourth century B. C. Plato, Aristotle, and Theopompus show a knowledge of Zoroaster's works."

* Eng. Trans. Dabistan, Vol. I. P. 211, N. 1.

† Ouseley's Travels in the East Vol. I, P. 113.

(21). Zoroâstrou—outos de o Zoroados etoi Zarâdes. Agath. Lib. I. p. 58, Lug. Bat. 1594.

‡ Mirkhond's History of the Early Kings of Persia, P. 277, Eng. Transl. by David Sheà.

§ A popular description of Persia and China, Vol. I., P. 60.

|| Eng. Trans. Dabistan, Vol. I., P. 224.

Further we see the learned Orientalist state from the authorities of St. Clement of Alexandria and Jamblicus as follows.*

"In the *Desâtir* (English translat., P. 120) the Greek philosopher is called *Tâtianush*. We are at a loss even to guess at the Greek to whom these names may be applied. We may, however, remember that St. Clement of Alexandria places Pythagoras about the 62nd Olympiad, or about 528 years B. C., and says that he was a zealous follower of Zoroaster, and had consulted the Magi. Jamblicus, in his life of Pythagoras (cap. 4,) states, that this philosopher was taken prisoner by Cambyzes and carried to Babylon, where, in his intercourse with the Magi, he was instructed in their modes of worship, perhaps by Zoroaster himself, if Zabratius and Nazaratus, mentioned as his instructors by Diogenes and Alexander, can be identified with the Persian prophet."

As an easy reference to the reader I beg to quote again the valuable opinion of the most learned Sir C. H. Rawlinson.†

"But notices of the fourth and fifth century B. C. are certainly deserving of consideration."

From the above observations it is most firmly established that Zoroaster existed in the fourth century B. C. ; from the synchronical confirmation of the Orientalists and Occidentalists as a *Prima Facie* evidence. Further we see that Greek and Roman authors place Zoroaster in the reign of Darius Hystaspas, which agrees with the Vistaspa of the Zand Avesta. I beg to refer the reader to the following pages Note L, where I intend to show distinctly that Vistaspa was the Royal Patron of Zoroaster.

NOTE L, p. 60.

A most impertinent question is often asked by modern critics *i. e.* in whose reign the Perso-Bactrian Prophet Zoroaster existed ? This question we can easily answer from the undermentioned authorities.

From the oral and written testimonies it appears that the Prophet Zoroaster existed in the time of the Bactrian King Vistaspa or

* Eng. Trans. Dabistan, Vol. I., P. 277.

† J. R. A. S. G. B. & I., Vol. x. Pt. I, P. 42, No. i.

Hystaspa, and this tradition we can prove not only from the sacred records but also from foreign authorities as well as from the undisputable monumental records.

In the Sacred Scriptures of the Zoroastrians it is positively mentioned thus ; in the ancient hymns or Gâthâs it is recorded that Vistaspa was the friend as well as a promoter of Zoroaster's religion, and the Prophet Zoroaster himself acknowledges that Vistaspa was his faithful friend. Here I beg to quote the original passage with its translation by Dr. Haug, which after comparing with Dr. Spiegel's I find to differ slightly from each other in their respective translations, but they do not differ much in the sense of the original passage.

Dr. Haug translates the original passage from Gâthâ Uçtavaiti as follows :—*

“ 13. Who venerates the very holy Zarathustra with diligence among men, he is fit to proclaim his doctrine publicly. To him (to Zarathustra) the living sage surrendered life ; for him he hedge-in with good sense the country properties ; him we consider, true one, as a good friend.

14. Zarathustra ! who is thy veritable friend at the great work ? or who will publicly proclaim it ? Precisely Kavâ Viçtâçpa will do that. Whom thou, living sage ! hast selected in the (heavenly) session, those will I venerate with the words of the good sense.”

Besides these there are several other examples in the Zand Avesta to prove that Zoroaster was not only a contemporary of Vistaspa, but *vice versa*, that Vistaspa or Hystaspa was one of the most faithful and zealous proselytes ; and we see it is already mentioned in the Vistaspa Nosk that Zoroaster offered the blessing to the son of his Royal follower and proselytized him into the Mazdiasnian religion to worship one supreme being. It is very much to be regretted that the name Darius of the Monumental record is not to be found at present in the Zand Avesta, but still I hope, if time will permit me, to find it out from the Zand Avesta.

Further we see the foreign authorities place the time of Zoroaster

* Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Die Gâthâs des Zarathustra von Dr. Martin Haug, Leipzig 1860. II. Band, No. 2, P. 48. Avesta die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen, Aus Dem Grundtexte Übersetzt, Mit Steter Rücksicht Auf die Tradition von Dr. F. Spiegel, Leipzig 1859, Zweiter Band. P. 154—155, §. 13—14.

into the reign of Darius Hystaspas or Vistaspa which is synchronically confirmed by the Zand Avesta.

Again the Greek author Agathias places the time of Zoroaster into the reign of Vistaspa or Hystaspas* in confirmation to the authority of the Zand Avesta.

The most distinguished Orientalist, Sir C. H. Rawlinson, after consulting the Greek and Roman authorities, speaks as follows :—†

“ 3 Arnobius, it must be observed, where he quotes the first book of Ctesias, which, as we learn from Photius, treated exclusively of the Assyrian “origines,” expressly terms Zoroaster a Bactrian ; and it is almost certain, therefore that the passage quoted in the text, which commences “ut inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus,” must also be drawn from the same source. I mention this, as Ctesias has often been cited as an authority for placing Zoroaster under Darius Hystaspes. I shall have occasion to refer to the famous Zoroastrian passage of Arnobius in another place. In the first book of Stanley’s Chaldee Philosophy, the subject of Zoroaster is treated with all the learning that belonged to the age in which it was written.”

“ 1. The remarkable notices of Agathias and Ammianus with regard to Zoroaster exemplify the difficulty that well-instructed men experienced in reconciling the hybrid traditions of the Persians of the Sassanian age with authentic Greek history. Agathias in the first place mentions the double name of Zoroaster and Zarades (the latter name being probably the same as *Ziru-ishtar*, inasmuch as Hesychius explains, ‘Ada to be the Babylonian Hera, and he then goes on to express his doubts if the Hystaspes whom the Persians maintained to have been contemporary with the Oromazdian Zoroaster, could possibly be identical with the father of Darius. Ammianus, as I understand him, does not attempt to identify the two periods, though he gives the exact Persian description of the divine inspiration of the Zendavesta (a description, too, which is given in greater detail by Dion Chrysostom). Ammianus places the Bactrian Zoroaster, who introduced the occult Chaldian sciences, “*seculis priscis* ;” while he takes it for granted that the Hystaspes contemporary with the

* Ouseley’s Travels in the East, Vol. I., P. 113.

† J. R. A. S. G. B. & I., Vol. xv., P. 228, N. 3, P. 254, N. 1.

Zoroaster of the Zend-avesta, was the father of Darins. See Agath, (Dind,) p. 117, Ammian. Marcellin, lib. xxiii., and Dio Chrysostom, Orat. Boristh."

The ancient author Ammianus Marcellinus most positively mentions in his work that Zoroaster the Bactrian was a contemporary of King Hystaspes the father of Darius.*

According to the recent investigations of continental Orientalists, it is decided that the universal opinion, promulgated by many ancient authorities that the Great Bactrian Prophet Zoroaster flourished in the reign of Vistaspa or Hystaspa, is the most authentic, and the strongest arm of infidelity was subsequently broken down by the followers of Zoroaster. These facts are mentioned in the annals of ancient history and many modern investigators unanimously agreed on this point that Zoroaster existed in the time of Vistaspa or Histaspa.†

NOTE M, p. 64.

In the first and second part of Yaçna, the languages differ very slightly from each other, therefore my learned friends Drs. Spiegel and Mitchell, both divide Yaçna into two parts in the order of their antiquity, but we have no substantial ground for doing so ; then again they say that the Zand Avesta was not composed by Zoroaster himself, but this opinion does not support the general argument, because difference of languages is generally held to be of no great avail in the proofs adduced for the authorship of the Yaçna by Zoroaster ; in fact, in our own times we see that even the most common Guzrâtî used both by the Hindus and Parsîs, is vastly different from each other, and find there are even slightest differences in the Guzrâtî language as spoken amongst the Parsîs of Bombay, Surat, Broach and Nowsarî, and the same appears to be the

* Anhang Zum Zend-Avesta, Von J. F. Kleuker 1783, P. 131 and Mirkhond's History of the Early Kings of Persia, P. 275—276.

† Hyde, de. Relig. Veter. Persar, Pages 303, 312, 335 ; Zendavesta of Kleuker app. I. etc. P. 327 ; Heeren's Historical Researches, Vol. I. P. 237 ; An Epitome of the History of the World, by J. Hayland, Vol. II., P. 159 P. 341 ; Penny Cyclopædia, Vol. xxvii., P. 817 ; Oxford Chronological Tables of History, P. 7 ; English Translation Dabistan, Vol. I., P. 213 ; Ouseley's Travels in the East, Vol. I., P. 113 ; Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., P. 33.

case, for instance, when the Icelandic and Gothic, Polish and Russian languages are compared, and which in the same manner belong to distinct branches of the same classes ; but the Iranian tongues are of an age many centuries earlier,* and consequently after the downfall of the Kanian dynasty and in the time of Sassanian Kings, the Zand Avesta may have been re-written from oral repetitions or written records by the followers of Zoroaster ; so this circumstance should not lead us to the conclusion that Zoroaster was not the author of the Zand Avesta ; Orientalists are almost universally of opinion that Zoroaster was the author of Hagio-graphic books, and further again the learned Dr. Mitchell contends that this cannot be (the case) since he is named in the third person† I have, however, already refuted the very objection in the foregoing pages.‡ And I think my learned friend must have committed a mistake of oversight, in the Zand Avesta, otherwise he would never have expressed such a strange opinion ; the learned Orientalist few years ago translated, from the German, French and Guzratî languages, the nineteenth Fargard of the Vendidad in which Zoroaster's name is used in the sense of the first person ; here I beg to quote the authority from the pen of my learned friend who has translated the original passages from three different languages.§

"16. Zoroaster addressed Agra Mainyus : Malevolent Agra Mainyus !

"17. I will slay the creation which has been made by the Daevas ; I will slay the Naçus whom the Daevas have made ;

"18. I will slay the Paris to whom they pray (?) until Caoshyang [viz. the useful] shall be born, the victorious, out of the water Kançaoya."

Besides this, we find throughout the whole of the Zand Avesta, Zoroaster's name used in several places in the sense of first person and particularly in the most ancient portion of the Gâthâs, it is mentioned in the following words :—

"I am Zarathustra, I shall shew myself as a destroyer to the wicked, and a comforter to the good." ||

* Professor Westergaard's Zend Avesta, Vol. I., P. 16, N. i.

† J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IV., P. 232—233.

‡ Vide, P. 64—67 of the above.

§ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. iv., P. 236.

|| Dr. Haug's Lecture on the origin of the Parsee Religion, P. 8.

This point is clearly proved from the Zand Avesta, but the second question asked by my friend is as follows :—

“ Indeed everything intimates that neither he nor his disciple Gustasp was alive.”*

Concerning this point my friend has entirely overlooked not only the sacred authority of the Zand Avesta, but also the foreign authorities of the ancient Greek, Latin and Roman writers. On this important point I have already discussed in previous note marked L, where I have, I trust, most satisfactorily proved from the Zand Avesta, as well as from the ancient and modern oriental authorities that Zoroaster lived in the time of Gustasp or Vistasp. I do not therefore think it necessary to expostulate on the subject again, but beg to refer both of my learned friends to the above note L, where I have pointed out from the ancient hymns of the Gâthâs that Kava Vistaspa was not only a friend of Zoroaster, but a most zealous disciple of that Prophet, and one who proclaimed the divine doctrines publicly into the vast empire of Iran.

NOTE N, p. 75.

The Pehlvi language has derived its name from the country Pehlu, and its inhabitants are called Pehlviâns, i. e. warriors, who are called in the Sanskrit language Pahanvas or Pahalvas.† From a most minute investigation it appears to me that in ancient times Pehlvi was divided into two parts, the one was called Huzvarash or the proper Pehelvi, and the other the common Pehelvi ; one must be used as Hieratic, and the other as Demotic in the vast empire of Iran. We see the latter is still a spoken language in several provinces of Iran or Persia.

The learned Mr. Troyer says,‡ “ The Pehelvi was used in Media Proper, in the towns of Rai, Hamadan, Isphan, Nehawend and Tabriz, the capital of Azarbijan.”

* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. iv., P. 233.

† The Vishnu Purans English Translation by Professor H. H. Wilson of 1840, P. 189, N. 61 and P. 195, N. 158 and J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. v. P. 42.

‡ English Translation Dabistan, Vol. I. Pre. Dis., P. xlviii.

Professor Pott, after consulting with Ritter and Rawlinson, speaks as follows :—*

“Minotschehr (from heavenly seed) which would also be admissible inspite of a few phonetic difficulties (e. g. that the *a* is there before.) Against the view, however, in which *Quatremère* concurred with me, as if the Huzvaresh or the so called Pehlvi could have been the language of the *Parthians*, at least the circumstance of there *not existing any skythic element* in Huzvaresh, vividly militates. Spiegel Gramm., P. 159. As probable rests of the Parthian, as a spoken language see Ritter, Arien, vi. 2, 217, vi. 1, 624. Nevertheless Rawlinson Journ. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc. ix. I. 109, observes this with assurance of the place Dizmar in the N. of Tabriz. Lassen Ztschr. vi. 544. If the case be not a similar one to the supposed Zend on the Caspian Sea by Chodzko Spec. of Pers. Poetry. Also in the small town of Nain which was yet till lately inhabited by Guebers, there is still a peculiar antiquated dialect in use. D. M. Z. xii. 716.”

From the above positive assertion of the above named eminent Orientalists, we can safely confirm this view, that the Pehlvi language must be the current language in the time of Achemenian Kings or even prior to that period, as far as we see in the Pehlvi language the proper names of Kings, Provinces, things etc., bear most strongly evidences of their primitive existence, and therefore I may safely consider that the Huzvarash is the Hagiographic language and the Pehlvi is the Demotic or a popular language of the Arian Nations.

NOTE.

The Pehlvi Inscription of Hajî-Abâd.

Mr. Sorâbjî Shâpurjî states in his work, from the authority of Dr. Spiegel, “that the decipherment, of one of the Pehlvi Inscriptions, which was made both by Dastur Peshutanjî Byramjî and Dhunjibhâi Framjî in 1853 in Bombay, was believed to be imperfect, and consequently Dr. Spiegel placed no reliance on the faithfulness of its

* Zeit. Dent. Morg. Ges. 1859, Dreizehnter Band. P. 415.

translation ; and that further he entertained doubts on the ground, that some of the Pehlvi characters bear three or four different orthographical values."

To the above mentioned objection of Dr. Spiegel, Mr. Sorabji has replied, that for the authenticity of the decipherment both the above-named gentlemen are not in any way responsible because they solely depended, for the transcription of the original characters, on the authority of Mr. E. Thomas' Alphabetical Table printed in the J. R. A. S. G. B. & L."*

Before taking any notice of Dr. Spiegel's remark, it is incumbent upon me to know, how and in what manner Dr. Spiegel obtained possession of the copy of the Pehlvi Inscription I have deciphered ; however if we admit for the sake of expositulation, that Dr. Spiegel had the opportunity of perusing my copy it is then my duty to reply to Dr. Spiegel's remark.

Perhaps the learned Orientalist may be under the impression that the Pehlvi characters of the inscription cannot bear three or four different orthographical values. I think my learned friend must have overlooked this fact ; because some of the Pehlvi words in the inscription compel us to adopt this rule, as interchangeable values, not only in different words, but at the same time in each word. We find the letters *v*, *u*, or *r* according to the general rules of the ancient Persian and Pehlvi languages and also *v* and *y* are often interchangeable in their orthographical value.

In regard to this monumental record, I have several examples to lay before my readers. The following words distinctly point out their interchangeable values, viz., Tagrâhi or Tahrâhi, Shâpuri, Airan, va, Manu-Chatrî, Barî, or Buî, and Huî.†

These few words are Prima Facie evidence, and are quite sufficient to refute Dr. Spiegel's remark ; as we are forced in each word to decipher the original character in two different ways.

Mr. Sorâbjî Shâpurjî, in reply to Dr. Spiegel's objection, said, that

* Essay on the antiquity of the Zoroastrian's Hagiographical works and their language, by Sorabji Shapurji, Second Edition, published at the expense of Sir Jemsetji Jijibhâi Baronet, in 1858, P. 65—66. Note.

† Vide p. 86 of the above, Pehlvi Inscription with Italic transcription and verbal translation.

both *Dastur Peshutunji* and *Dhunjibhâi* are not to be blamed because they both relied upon the authority of Mr. E. Thomas.

Dastur Peshutunji is responsible for his own decipherment, and able to defend himself ; my friend, Mr. Sorabji is mistaken in supposing that my decipherment was taken from Mr. E. Thomas's Alphabetical Table, because Mr. E. Thomas's table was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in the year 1850-52,* while previous to that, in 1848 and 1849, I deciphered the Pehlvi Inscription of Haji-Abâd and others, with a view to ascertain the true orthographical value of the Pehlvi Alphabets according to their different forms, e. g., Pehlvi Lapidary cursive and Numismatic to assist Pehlvi scholars.

I brought this fact to the notice of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1851,* at the time of my laying before them the specimen of my Zand Dictionary. This fact is already recorded in the proceedings of the Society and also in the Prospectus of my Zand Dictionary as follows :—†

Part 6th. The Pehlvi Alphabets, published with observations on the Lapidary, Cursive, and Numismatic, according to their different forms of their alphabets, to assist Pehlvi scholars to decipher any of the Pehlvi writings, tablets, manuscripts, and coins.

In deciphering the Pehlvi Inscription of Haji-Abâd and other Tablets, I am indebted to Mon. De Sacy's, Sir W. Ouseley's, and Sir J. Malcolm's Works, and also to the Journals of the Royal Asiatic, and German Oriental and Journal Asiatique Societies.

Some of the characters were not deciphered, first, by the Continental Paleographers ; these I have deciphered to the best of my ability.

Pehlvi Inscription at Kanhêrî Caves near Vêhâr in Salsette.

I am most thankful to my learned friend Dr. Bhâu Dâji, who first brought to my notice the fact of a Pehlvi Inscription having been

* J. R. A. S. G. B. & I., Vol. xii., Pt. 2, P. 253—347. Ibid, Vol. xiii., Pt. 2, P. 373—428.

† J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. iv., p. 155,—56.

found in the Kanhêrî Cave at Salsette, near the village of Vêhâr, and a copy of this Inscription was forwarded to me by my learned friend, Mr. E. Rehatsek, and after perusing the same it was most interesting to observe that the forms of Pehlvi characters were not similar to those of Sassanian Lapidary Pehlvi, but on the contrary I found the characters to be cursive, and they quite agree in their forms with the exception of a very few letters to the Pehlvi M:s's copy.

It is to be regretted that owing to the very decayed state of the Tablet, I have not been enabled to decipher the whole of the Inscription as I intended to have done; most of the words are intelligible and the rest are so imperfect in their forms that we can hardly make them out, unless we pay a personal visit to the spot or find out a Fac-simile of the same. In conclusion I must return my best thanks to Mr. E. Rehatsek for sending me a copy of this Inscription.

A very short Pehlvi Inscription, lately published in the Society's Journal, is considered by E. W. West, Esq., to be in the Arabic character, but it is quite evident that the Inscription is in the Pehlvi language. Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. vi. P. 120, P. iii. N. 21.

From this monumental record, it is quite evident that the Pehlvi language was introduced into India prior to the time of the Zoroastrian emigration from Persia.

ERRATA.

PAGE.	LINE.	FOR.	READ.
2	21	Anquitil.	Anquetil.
4	16	• heroic.	an heroic.
5	25	Pausanius.	Pausanias.
5	28	Speigel.	Spiegel.
11	9	socièle.	société.
11	9	Antiquairis.	Antiquaires.
11	20	vornehmster.	Vornehmsten.
11	21	alter.	alten.
11	24	trouvées pres' d'	trouvées prés d' Hamadan.
11	26	kiel.	keil.
11	29	Mongenlandes.	Morgenlandes.
11	32	Rowlinson.	Rawlinson.
12	30	compararrtive.	comparative.
12	31	Theopampas.	Theopompus.
13	14	called.	culled.
13	25	Called.	culled.
14	28	marked.	awakened.
15	3	abitics.	abilities.
16	33	work.	works.
19	22	chodzks.	chodzko.
21	10	Arminian.	Armenian.
21	18	Isideet.	Iside et.
21	19	Plato Aristotle.	Plato and Aristotle.
21	21	Pausanius.	Pausanias.
21	33	vonder.	von der.
25	20	opinion.	opinions.
25	23	Yni.	Uni.
25	27	Arian	Ariana
27	11	Dhkhyanâm.	Dhkhyunâm.
27	20	Hakmaina.	Hakhamaina.
28	12	noun.	verb.
29	20	Ahura mazda.	Ahurahê mazdâê.
31	24	does.	did.
35	15	He gos.	He goes.
37	31	inquierers.	inquirers.
38	15	Burnouf.	Burnoufs.
38	18	whos.	whose.
52	6	syathic.	scythic.
54	17	Zuntu.	Zantu.
62	12	Pausanius.	Pausanias.

PAGE.	LINE,	FOR.	READ.
64	20	Speigel.	} • Spiegel.
64	23	Speigel.	
65	16	Speigel.	
65	29	Speigel.	
70	22	Chaldians.	
74	20	an.	Chaldeans.
75	11	Esqer.	the.
78	9	Phlvi.	Esq.
83	26	enterpreted.	Pehlvi.
87	1	EGNLISH.	interpreted.
90	23	Mongenlandischen	ENGLISH.
93	16	olshauser.	• Morgenländischen
104	20	repetition.	olshausen.
108	33	Neunten.	repetition.
116	15	Elisus.	Neunter.
116	30	Transaction.	Elisous.
116	33	Der Parser.	Transactions.
121	18	خودا	der Parsen.
121	28	Brockhus	خدا
138	9	Estern.	Brockhaus.
139	12	preceeding.	Eastern.
140	20	Mahomedian.	preceding.
145	3	fifte euth.	Mahomedan.
147	8	to.	fifteenth.
149	17	hedge-	into.
149	26	of the	hedged.
150	21	well—instructed.	of his.
150	34	Chaldian.	wellinstructed.
151	27	slightest.	Chaldean.
153	32	Vishnu Purans.	slight.
			Vishnu Purāna.

